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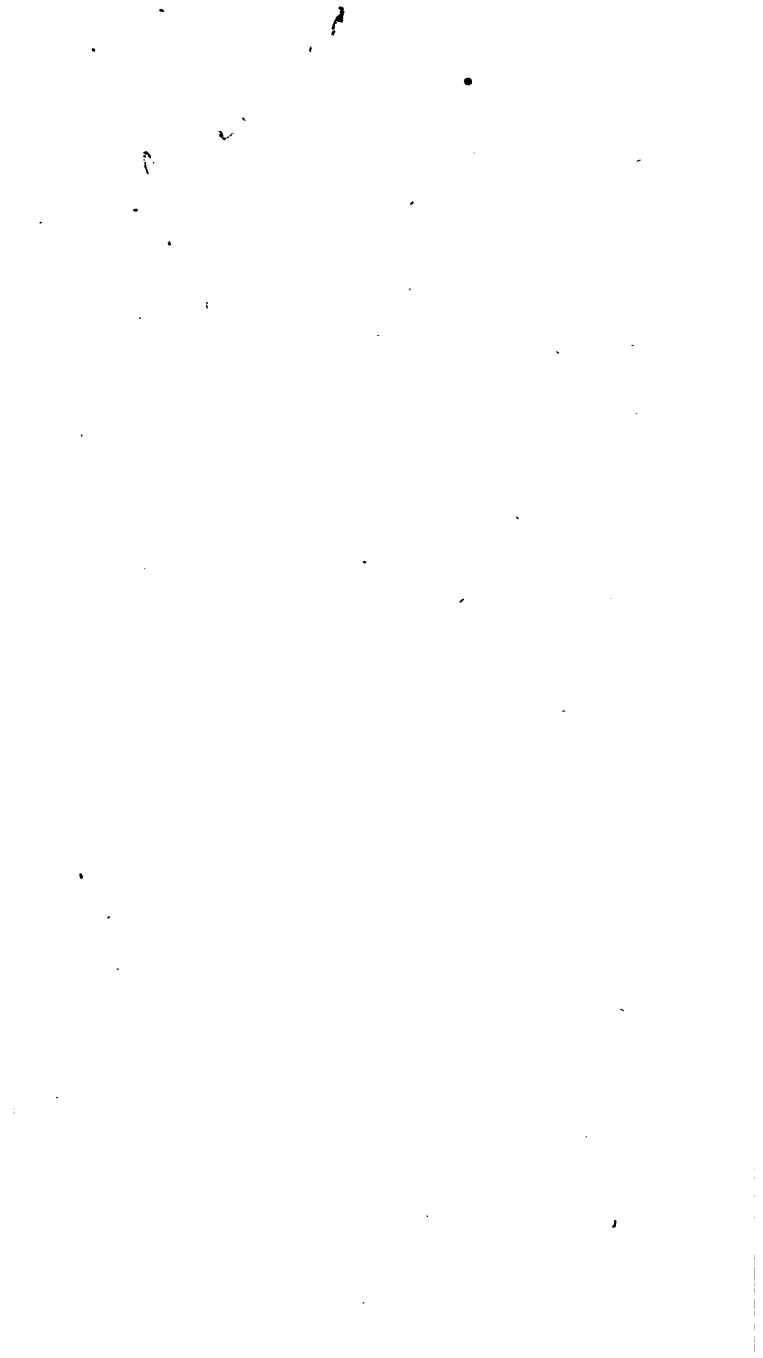
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THE GUNPOWDER TREASON:

WITH A DISCOURSE OF THE MANNER OF ITS DISCOVERY;

AND A PERFECT RELATION OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE CONSPIRATORS;

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED

THEIR TRIALS AND CONDEMNATIONS, ALSO THE CONFESSIONS OF
GUIDO FAWKES AND THOMAS WINTER:

LIKEWISE

KING JAMES'S SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

Including a Preface touching the Conspiracy,

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS, THE THEN LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

AND BY WAY OF APPENDIX,

SEVERAL PAPERS WRITTEN BY SIR EVERARD DIGBY
DURING HIS CONFINEMENT.

AS PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY IN 1609, AND RE-PRINTED IN 1679.

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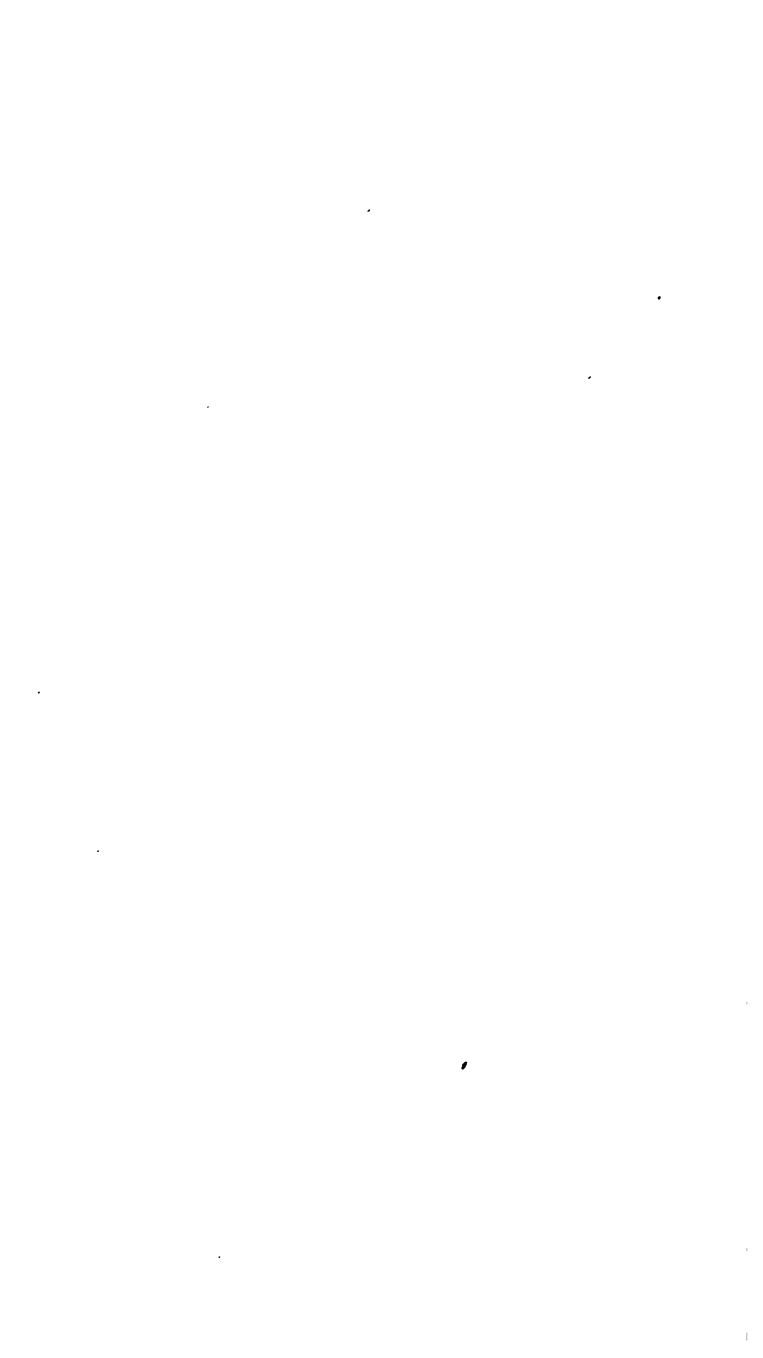
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ORIGINAL PREFACE.*

TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

THIS is not a new, but an old, approved book (by the authority and advice of some pious and learned persons), newly reprinted. So that there is no need of any commendatory Preface, to court you into a good opinion of it, or any apology for myself and this edition; its own worth will justify the work. It is no lying legend, no vain romance, no spurious or unlicensed seditious pamphlet, but an authentic history of an impious and prodigious Roman Catholic¹ conspiracy of a Popish Powder Plot; containing the examination, trial, and evidently just conviction and condemnation of Popish Powder traitors,—a villany so black and horrid—I do not say unchristian only, but—so inhuman and barbarous, as has no parallel in any age or nation, Jewish, Pagan, or Turkish, nor, indeed, could have, before the invention of gunpowder, and the unhappy institution² of the Jesuitical Society, by a³ fanatical lame soldier, Ignatius Loyola. For, before that time, the world had no instrument or means so pernicious as gunpowder, and capable of effecting such a mischief; nor any order of men so impious, as to approve, design, and endeavour to execute a villany, so manifestly repugnant to the law of nature and Scripture, to the undoubted principles of human reason, and Divine Revelation. I well know, that in these six last centuries, the Pope

(1) See the Acts of Parliament, 3 Jacobi, cap. 4, 5, where this plot is truly called (in the body of the act), "An HEL-LISH CONSPIRACY of the Jesuits and Seminary Priests."

(2) "Approbata et confirmata Societas Jesu, a Paulo Papa III., anno Christi 1540."—*Vide Bullam Pauli III., data Romæ Cal. Oct., 1540. In Mag. Bullario Romano: Lugd., 1655, tom. 1, page 738.*

(3) See the Life of Ignatius Loyola, by Father Ribadeneyra, one of his own Society.

* [A few obsolete words, which might have proved tedious, have been modernised; the phraseology and sense have, however, been strictly preserved.—ED.]

(4) *Vide* Concil. Lateranum 4, sub Innocentio III.; anno 1215. Can. 3, De Hæreticis.

(5) "Peremptus hæreticorum numerus infinitus." — Math. Paris, in Hen. III., ad annum, 1234, page 395.

(6) Jac. Usserius Armach. de Stat. et Success. Eccles., cap. 10.

(7) Dr. Crakanthorp, contra Spalatensem, cap. 18, sec. 19, &c.

(8) Father Paul, of Venice, History of the Council of Trent, pages 119, 120.

(9) *Idem* *ibid*, page 423. *Vide* Thuanum ad Annum 1572. De Nuptiis Parisinis et Laniena Protestantium in Gallia.

and his party have murdered many thousand better Christians than themselves (whom they are pleased to miscall heretics), by⁴ armies raised, and highly encouraged to execute such bloody and unchristian purposes; by their Inquisitions and premeditated assassinations; as by their own authors may, and evidently does appear. One of them (and he an historian of good antiquity and credit), tells us of⁵ an INFINITE NUMBER of heretics (the innocent Waldenses he means), thus murdered. And a learned and pious person says (and⁶ proves it out of their own writers), that in the space of thirty-six years (and in France only) 104,747 of the same Waldenses, were inhumanly slain, upon the same account. And in sixty years (as the account is⁷ made, and by the testimonies of their own authors proved), no less than 142,990 of the same poor innocent Christians, and in the same country, were, by the Pope and his party, barbarously murdered. And of later times (to omit all others), a prudent and sober Roman Catholic tells us,⁸ first of 4,000 Waldenses, and then of 50,000 Protestants cruelly slain, in the same country, by the authority and approbation⁹ of the Pope and his party, "drunk with the blood of the saints."

I confess, that those were impious and prodigious Popish cruelties; yet such as were not absolutely and immediately pernicious, and destructive of the poor persecuted Christians. For,

I. When armies were raised to ruin them, they had some time to consult their security, to fight (if they were able); if not, to fly, and so preserve their lives.

II. When they were caught, and called into the Inquisition (and so to a seeming legal trial), they had some time to make their defence, at least to pray, and make their peace with heaven.

III. And the execution of those cruelties was upon particular persons, in some village, city, or province.

But the Gunpowder treason and conspiracy we are now speaking of, contrived by the impious subtilty of the Jesuits and their associates, and to be executed by the pernicious violence of gunpowder, would have been (had it taken the designed effect) a far more secret and sudden, a more universal and compendious villany: all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, all the Commons, and (*horresco referens*) the King himself blown up, and so murdered in a moment: that is, not some particular persons only, but the whole kingdom assassinated; not in effigy (as in some countries they hang malefactors they cannot catch) but in its real representatives, the whole Parliament of England. A conspiracy so inhuman and barbarous, of such diffusive and universal mischief, as (before that time) never was, nor would nor could have been approved, continued, and executed, without gunpowder and Jesuits. But for a more full discovery of this treason, I refer the reader to the book itself, and our public¹ Acts of Parliament concerning it.

Yet, to give him some further satisfaction and reason for the second edition of this book, let him be pleased to know,

(1) See the Acts above cited, 3 Jacobi, cap. 4, 5.

I. That since the happy discovery of the late damnable and hellish conspiracy (as the two Houses of Parliament truly² call it), many pious and learned persons, desirous to look back and consider the particulars of the Gunpowder Plot (both conspiracies being hatched and hammered in the same Popish forge, by the Jesuits and their adherents) did diligently seek after this book I now publish; but, above seventy years being passed since the first impression, they found it not; and, therefore, to satisfy their desires and supply that defect, it was thought convenient and (as the condition of the kingdom now stands, or staggers) necessary to reprint them.

(2) At a Conference of both Houses, Nov. 1, 1678.

II. Though the Gunpowder conspiracy was hatched in hell, and carried on with all the

sworn secrecy and impious policy imaginable, yet (there being no policy against Providence, nor any mischief so mysterious as to be hid from that all-seeing eye of Him with whom we have to do) the most gracious and good God of heaven and earth opportunely discovered that traitorous conspiracy, and (in great mercy) prevented the mischief intended to his people. This was a miraculous mercy never to be forgotten, but (with all gratitude) kept in perpetual memory by our whole nation. "God hath so done his marvellous works,³ that they ought to be had in remembrance." When God delivered his people out of Egypt, he instituted the passover as a memorial, that they and their children might for ever⁴ remember it. And when our blessed Saviour redeemed us from (more than Egyptian bondage) the slavery of sin and Satan, he also instituted a sacrament, to help our infirmity and be a memorial of his unspeakable mercy—⁵"Do THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME." All our gracious God requires or expects from us is, a grateful memory and acknowledgment of his mercies, which is impossible to be done if we forget them. Seeing, then, that this book contains an authentic history of the great misery and mischiefs intended, and by Popish policy and cruelty prepared for this nation, and the unspeakable mercy of our most gracious God preventing it, it was thought fit to reprint it, as a memorial that men might read and remember these mercies, and renew and continue their gratitude for ever for them.

(3) Psalm iii. 4.
Vide Esther ix. 28.

(4) Exodus xii.
24, 26, 27.

(5) 1 Cor. ii. 24,
25.

III. Another reason why this book was a second time printed and published was, that all (who had a mind and time to read it, without partiality and prejudice) might have authentic evidence to convince our adversaries: who not only in remote countries beyond the seas, but here in England,

since his majesty's happy return (and in print), do endeavour (with a strange confidence, to give it no worse name) to persuade men to believe that the Gunpowder conspiracy was no Popish plot, but Cecil's contrivance. One of their scribblers says indeed, that it was **A HORRID PLOT**; but adds,⁶ "that it was suspected to be **POLITICALLY CONTRIVED BY CECIL**." And then afterwards, towards the end of that Popish Calendar or Almanack, he more confidently saith, "that the Gunpowder treason was **MORE THAN SUSPECTED TO BE THE CONTRIVANCE OF CECIL**, the great politician, to **RENDER CATHOLICS ODIUS**." He confesseth (in both places cited, as well he might) "that **SOME ROMAN CATHOLICS** were in that plot. But there were but **FEW DETECTED**, and they that were *detected* were **DESPERADOES**." So that he would have us believe, that it was not any Popish, but Cecil's (a Protestant's) contrivance, and those Popish desperadoes (as he calls them) who were detected in it, were by Cecil, the politician, drawn into that conspiracy to make Catholics odious. It is almost impossible that any man who is not resolved to believe (or make others believe) a lie, should profess and publish such evident untruths in matter of fact, against the sense of a whole nation and the public acts and declarations of King, Lords, and Commons in a full Parliament. But (to me) it is no wonder that they who (for their mis-called Catholic cause) have confidence enough impiously to design and (as far as they are able) execute such prodigious conspiracies against their king and country, should have equal impudence to deny them when (for want of success) they and their unchristian cause are concerned in such denial. And here, when this Popish writer (who otherwise was a man of some parts and quality) says, "that there were only a **FEW** Papists

(6) *Calendarium Catholicum*; or, An Universal Almanack, 1662. That is the title; but by that word *Catholicum*, he means a Roman Catholic or Popish Almanack; for it is calculated only for the meridian of Rome, and is not Catholic in any other sense. The words I cite are in the 2nd page, ad annum 57.

(7) *Idem ibid*, in explication of holidays set apart by Act of Parliament, near the end of that *Calendarium Catholicum* (or Popish Almanack), on the 5th of November.

DETECTED in that Popish Powder Plot I shall desire the courteous and impartial reader to consider:

1. That they were not so few as he pretend as may evidently appear by the following book, which contains the discovery, conviction, and condemnation of those Popish traitors.
2. And, considering that this impious conspiracy was contrived and carried on with a great and sworn secrecy, taking solemn oaths and the sacrament upon them (never intended for such impious purposes), to conceal that horrid design, and their practice in the prosecution of it, the wonder is not that no more, but that so many were detected.
3. But admit that a few only were detected here in England, so as to apprehend and (as they well deserved) execute them for their treason; yet it is certain that the damnable Powder conspiracy was well known, beyond seas, to the Popish party (especially the Jesuits) long before the happy discovery of it: as out of Deltio, and some others of their own writers, has been, and (when there is an opportunity) may be made manifest.
4. When that Popish Calendar (before cited) tells us,⁸ "That the Papists in the Powder treason and conspiracy were DESPERADOES of a religion which DETESTS such treasons." And afterwards,⁹ "that all SOBER CATHOLICS utterly DETEST that, and ALL SUCH ABOMINABLE CONSPIRACIES." To this false flourish, I shall only say,
First, That I confess, and easily believe, that those Gunpowder traitors were indeed (what he calls them) DESPERADOES, desperate villains, else they would never have undertaken, or acted, in a design so black, and (as he truly calls it) abominable conspiracy, against their king and native

(8) In the former place quoted out of that *Calendarium Catholicum*.

(9) In the second place above cited out of that *Calendar*.

country. And, secondly, if the Gunpowder Plot was an abominable conspiracy, and they who acted in it desperadoes, and not sober Catholics (as that author pretends, to excuse and free his Church from the opprobrium and guilt of that horrid conspiracy), then certainly those great and learned Popish writers are very much to blame, who, in their public (and by their party generally approved) writings, so highly commend those Gunpowder traitors (and others of their faction, justly condemned and executed for high treason), and tell us, "*That they lived like SAINTS, and*" (although condemned traitors) "*DIED MARTYRS.*" Father Parsons (a man of high esteem at Rome, and with his whole Society), speaking of Garnet (provincial of his order, and a principal Gunpowder traitor), says,¹ "He was AN INNOCENT MAN, who SUFFERED UNJUSTLY; that he lived A SAINT'S LIFE, and accomplished the same with A HAPPY DEATH, dying IN DEFENCE OF JUSTICE:" and yet it is evident that he died for and in defence of that horrid and damnable Gunpowder conspiracy. So that with them treason and innocence, traitor and martyr, seem to signify the same thing. Nor is Father Parsons only of this opinion; for Petrus² Ribadeneira (in a book published with approbation and authority) has reckoned Garnet, Southwell, Oldcorne, &c. (Gunpowder traitors), amongst the "*MARTYRS of the Jesuitical Society.*" Nor do we envy them that honour, but rather wish that all such traitors were made such martyrs. The same author, in the same book and index, reckons Campian (who was justly executed for³ high treason) amongst the "*MOST RENOWNED and FAMOUS MARTYRS of Christ.*" And that I may neither trouble the reader, nor myself, with more testimonies, to prove a truth notoriously known to all, who know and impartially

(1) Parsons, in his book against the oath of allegiance, called "*A Discussion of the Answer of Dr. Barlow,*" &c., pages 22, 23.

(2) Petrus Ribadeneira, *Catalogo Scriptorum Societatis Jesu: Antwerp, 1613, page 377. In Indice Martyrum.*

(3) Camden's Elizabeth, in the 24th of her reign, lib. iii., pages 239, 240. "*Edmundus Campianus MARTYR CHRISTI INCLYTUS, et sui seculi CLARISSIMUS.*"

(4) Abraham Bzovius, *De Pontifice Romano*, cap. 46, pages 611.

(5) Bzovius *ibid*, pages 619, 620.

(6) "INNUMERABILES Anglicani MARTYRES, DUCUM Edmundum Campianum secuti, IDEM DOCEBUNT." — Abraham Bzovius, *ibid*, cap. 46, page 621, col. 1.

read their approved authors; I shall only add, what Bzovius tells us, who, endeavouring (*De Industria, et data Operâ*) to prove the Pope's extravagant power to depose kings and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, gives us a catalogue⁴ of about thirty kings and princes deposed, or (by solemn anathemas) cursed and damned by the Popes; and⁵ cites about a hundred of their learned and eminent authors to prove and justify it. Having done this (speaking of Campian, the Gunpowder traitors, and the rest of their Popish party, justly executed here in England for their execrable treasons and conspiracies against their prince and country), he further tells us,⁶ "*That an INNUMERABLE company of English MARTYRS, following their CAPTAIN, Edmund Campian, taught THE SAME THING.*" That is, they taught the Pope's vast supremacy and his pretended power (for there is no shadow of ground or good reason for it) to damn and depose kings, and absolve their subjects from their fidelity and sworn allegiance; for to that end they are (by him) produced. The premises considered, I appeal to any sober and unprejudiced reader, whether such desperate and (amongst them) approved and received principles, will not be a great and prevailing encouragement to the Jesuits, and such other Popish fanatics, to design and execute any plot or conspiracy to kill an excommunicated king; whom they believe to be an heretic, deposed of majesty and all royal authority, and an enemy to their Roman Catholic cause and Church. So that if they should miscarry in any such impious design and Popish conspiracy (as hitherto they have, and, by the blessing of God, I hope they ever will), yet they know they shall be highly honoured by all their party, and be so far from having the brand of traitors

(though the world well knows they deserve it), that they will pass for SAINTS, stand in red letters in their Roman Calendar, and be magnified for *martyrs*. This encouragement they have to any plot or conspiracy (how impious soever, if it be against heretics, and for their Catholic cause), from their received principles, from their belief of the Pope's vast supremacy and infallibility, and their obligation to promote the Catholic cause. And, on the other side, they have no less encouragement to design and execute any conspiracies against Protestants; whom they look upon as the worst of heretics, enemies to God and their Church, to be^r persecuted (*more Romano*) with fire and sword, and not worthy to live in the world. For certainly such an opinion (true or false) may, and will, encourage those who believe it, to endeavour the extirpation and utter ruin of all those, who (in their judgment) are such impious and prodigious villains. What opinion the Popish party (I blame not all, some I know, and I hope there be more of a better temper) generally have of Protestants (prince and people) here in England, I shall give you in the words of a Popish pamphlet, writ since his majesty's happy return, to poison the poor deluded people with a hatred of all Protestants and their religion. In that* pamphlet the author is pleased to say,

(7) So it is declared in that great general and (with them) infallible Council, under Pope Innocent III. Council. Lateran., anno, 1215, can. 3, De Hæreticis.

1. That the "Protestant religion is a cheat, heresy, and HEATHENISM."—Page 3.
2. That the "Protestant Bible is no more the

* The pamphlet has this title—"Miracles not ceased. By A. S. London, 1663." It contains (as the title tells us) "The Most GLORIOUS MIRACLES, wrought by a Roman Catholic Priest, about London and Westminster, 1663, in confirmation of the HOLY ROMAN CATHOLIQUE FAITH;" and the Priest is there called, "A HOLY MAN OF GOD."—Page 3. "Sent by God to do miracles, in confirmation of the holy Roman Catholic Church, and her doctrine."—Pages 15, 16.

Word of God than the **TURKISH AL-CORAN.**"—Page 4.

3. That the "Protestant bishops, ministers, &c., are cheaters, false prophets, and **PRIESTS of BAAL.**"—Ibid.
4. That they are "**ANTICHRISTIANS**, pseudo-bishops, sons^s of iniquity, and fathers of mischief."—Ibid, page 16.
- 5 That "our Protestant religion is **RIDICULOUS** and **IDOLATROUS.**"—Page 17.
6. That "all Protestant bishops and ministers are priests of Baal, **MINISTERS of SATAN**, and **ENEMIES of GOD** and our souls."—Page 32.
7. And (to make his Roman Catholic railing complete) he there adds, "that the **KING** (whom God preserve) and the **PARLIAMENT** were **SECTARIES** and **HERETICS.**"—Ibid, page 32.

These are his own words, and the articles of the impeachment which that Popish author brings against Protestants; and he further tells us "that he has **CLEARLY PROVED** several of those articles" in another^s book of his own making, which he there cites. This he says, and possibly believes, though he have little reason for it; it being impossible that he should have any (much less a clear) reason to prove such positions, which are evidently untrue. And here I shall crave leave to say,

1. That I do not wonder that he (and other Popish writers generally) should speak so blasphemously against the Bible; and bitterly against the Protestants, seeing it is evident that there is no sort of Christians in the world whose religion is so consonant to that sacred book, nor any book so contradictory and (when it is seriously read and believed) so destructive of Popery as the Bible. Whence it is that the reading it in any vulgar tongue is prohibited to the people. The Trent^s fathers impiously and

(8) Pope Pius V. calls them "Improbos concionatores, et **IMPIETATUM ADMINISTROS.**" — In Bulla Damnationis et Excommunicationis Elizabethæ, anno, 1570, sec. 2.

(9) A little book, entitled "The Reconciler of Religion;" so he calls it, page 3.

(1) *Vide* Regulus

blasphemously saying, that if the people should read the Word of God in a known tongue (which was² writ by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that men might read, believe, and be saved by it), it "would³ be **MORE MISCHIEVOUS** than **BENEFICIAL** to them." Nay, it is manifest that (in their opinion) the reading of the Gospel of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, in a vulgar tongue, would be more destructive of their religion (as indeed it would, for Divine truth is more destructive of error, than one error is of another) than the reading of the Turkish Alcoran in the same tongue; whence it is that the Pope lately and publicly damned their own Missal in French,⁴ and as publicly allowed and approved the reading of the Alcoran in the same language.

de Libris Prohibitis, per Patres a Trident. Synodo delectos concinnatas, et a Pio Pap. IV.; comprobatas. Regul. 4, in calce Concilii Tridentini per Phil. Labbe: Paris, 1667, page 233.

(2) John xx. 30, 31.

(3) "PLUS INDE DETRIMENTI, QUAM UTILITATIS ORIRI." — Verba sunt dictæ Regulæ 4.

(4) Vide Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum Alexandri VII., jussu editum in quarto: Romæ, 1664. Verbo Alchoranus.

2. When he rails at and reviles the king and Parliament, calling them heretics and schismatics, I desire to know what law, or reason, or religion he has to warrant such reviling the supreme (or any inferior) power, or ruler of the people. His Roman law and religion (which allows the deposing and murdering kings by poison, pistol, war, or powder plots) may be his warrant; but sure I am such reviling of kings and ruling powers is wholly condemned by the laws of England, and the laws of God too. To call his king an heretic (by our law) is high⁵ treason, or such a crime as brings upon the criminal an incapacity⁶ to have or hold any place, office, or promotion, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; and, besides, renders him obnoxious to such other punishments, as by the common law may be inflicted. And for the Divine laws, God (by Moses) commands, "Thou shalt not curse the ruler of thy people." "No not in thy heart," says Solomon. St. Paul cites the same Mosaical law (as obligatory under the Gospel, so that we may be sure it is a natural and moral law), and (in other words) tells us

(5) Vide Statut. 13 Elizabeth, cap. 1, where it is high treason to call the queen heretic.

(6) Statutum 13 Caroli II., cap. 1, and Croke's Reports, part 2, page 38.

(7) Exodus xxii. 28.

(8) Eccl. x. 20.

(9) Ἀρχοντα οὐκ
ἔρεϊς κακῶς.—Acts
xiii. 5.

1) 2 Pet. ii. 10.

what is meant by cursing in that place, to wit blaspheming, or evil speaking; for so he renders that place in Exodus,⁹ "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." St. Peter (though his pretended Vicar does not reckon "them who speak evil of dignities," amongst greater sinners. So does St. Jude verse 8, 9, and tells us that "Michael, the Archangel, DURST NOT bring any RAILING accusation against THE DEVIL." But now, not only* the Pope, but every little Popish priest and scribbler, dare and do that to Christian kings and Protestant divines, which the archangel durst not do to the devil.

I do not think that any, who have not strong delusion to believe a lie, can possibly believe that the Protestant religion is (what they call it) "HERESY, HEATHENISM, RIDICULOUS, and IDOLATROUS." Or that the Protestant bishops and clergy are "ANTICHRISTIAN, MINISTERS of SATAN, ENEMIES of GOD, and PRIESTS of BAAL." Yet I do think that those who (against the greatest evidence of sense and reason in the world) can believe transubstantiation and manifest contradictions, may also (by a strong Roman Catholic faith) believe all the aforesaid untruths, and by that (though most erroneous) belief, be encouraged to murder and utterly destroy all such, who (in their opinion) are "*Ministers of Satan, heretics, enemies of God,* and PRIESTS of BAAL;" as also to believe that action to be just and innocent, and (upon their own belief and prin-

* See the Excommunication of Henry VIII. by Pope Paul III., and of Elizabeth by Pius V., where Luther is called "PERDITIONIS ALUMNUS;" our English clergy, "IMPROBOS, IMPIETATUM MINISTROS;" King Henry VIII., "*hereticus et instigante diabolo sacrilegus*," for alienating abbey lands; and yet Pope Julius III., Queen Mary, her Popish Parliament, and Convocation, confirmed that sacrilege.—*Vide Statutum 1 and 2 Mariæ*, cap. 8. If the alienation of those lands was sacrilege in the king, what was the confirmation of it for ever by the Pope and a Popish Parliament? Urbanus VIII. calls Luther "*Monstrum teterrimum, et detestabilis pestis*."—*Bulla Canonizationis Ignatii Loyolæ*. Data Romæ, 8 Idus Augustii, 1823, sect. 1.

ciples) have a concluding argument to prove it, thus: The Jews, by the approbation and encouragement of Elijah, justly slew all Baal's priests in the Old² Testament; and therefore Roman Catholics, by the approbation and encouragement of the Pope, and a General³ Council, may destroy Baal's priests (for so they call all the Protestant clergy) in the New. As the authority of Elijah (he being a prophet and divinely inspired) did both encourage and warrant the Jews, so the authority of the Pope and Council (being, as they pretend,⁴ assisted by the Holy Ghost and infallible) may, and will encourage Roman Catholics (who believe the Pope and Council to be so assisted) and be (to them) a sufficient warrant to kill and destroy heretics, and all those they call "*enemies of God*" and "*priests of Baal*." For what greater or surer warrant can they have of the lawfulness and justice of such designs and actions, than the synodical decree of the Pope and Council, whose authority they believe supreme, and their judgment infallible? Sure I am that they are⁵ taught to give an absolute obedience to all such commands and decrees of their Church, without debating or doubting of their justice or legality: they are not to dispute but readily execute them; and if they be repugnant, as many times they are, to their private judgment and senses too, yet they must renounce and reject their reason and the evidence of their senses too, captivate both to the obedience of their Church, and without all scruple or doubting do what she decrees. Amongst the directions and rules given them, that they may believe as the Church believes these are* two.

I. They are to "remove and reject ALL THEIR PROPER JUDGMENT, and ALWAYS have a

* Regula prima—"Sublato OMNI JUDICIO proprio, tenendus est SEMPER paratus animus ad obediendum vera Ecclesiæ." (The Church of Rome they mean.)—Page 138. Regula 13, page 141, sic habet—"Deteque ut ipsi Ecclesiæ Catholicæ OMNINO unanimes conformesque simus, si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet esse ALBUM, NIGRUM esse ILLA DEFINIERIT, DEBEMUS itidem, QUOD SIT NIGRUM PRONUNTIARE."

(2) 1 Kings xviii. 40.

(3) Concil. Lateranum 4; sub Innocentio III. Anno, 1215. Can. 3, De Hæreticis.

(4) "Synodo quemadmodum Spiritus sanctus suggestit, decrevit."—Concil. Trident., sess. 15, principio. "Sancta Synodus, a Spiritu sancto edocta declarat."—Ibid, sess. 21, cap. 1, &c. "Peculiari Spiritus sancti ducta."—Sess. 13, in principio.

(5) *Vide Exercitia Spiritualia*, Ignatii Loyolæ: Antwerp, 1635, page 238; and Ibid, "Regulas aliquot servandas ut cum Ecclesia vere sentiamur."

prepared and ready mind to OBEY the CHURCH."

II. And that "we may be ALTOGETHER unanimous and conformable with the Catholic Church, if she define anything to be BLACK, which OUR EYES SEE WHITE, we are in like manner BOUND to acknowledge that 'tis black."

(6) "Omnia ac singula in eis contenta."—Bulla Pauli Papæ III., dat. Romæ, 31 Jul., 1548. Exercit. Spiritual. Ignatii præfixa.

(7) "Pietate et sanctitate plena et ad ædificationem et spiritualem perfectum fidelium VALDE UTILIA," dictæ Bullæ, page 5. Approbata et laudata ab Urbane Papæ VIII. In Bulla Canonizationis Ignatii, sec. 22, edit. 8. Idus Augusti, anno 1623.

(8) "OMNIA et SINGULA in eis contenta, ex certa scientia nostra approbamus, collaudamus ac communimus: hortantes PLURIMUM OMNES et singulos, utriusque sexus Christi fideles, ubilibet constitutos, ut tam Piis documentis uti, et illis instrui devote velint."—Verba sunt Bullæ dictæ ib., page 5.

These rules, together with⁶ "everything contained" in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius are not only approved and received by the Jesuits but being referred by the Pope to the Cardinal of St. Clements, a Roman Inquisitor, to the Pope's Vicar-General, and the Master of the Sacred Palace, these three great men highly approve and commend them, as the Pope himself tells us. That they were FULL of PIETY and SANCTITY, and for EDIFICATION, and SPIRITUAL PROFICIENCY VERY PROFITABLE."

This is much, but not all. The Pope himself, their supreme, and (if the Jesuits and canonists may be credited) infallible judge, does⁸ "approve, commend, and confirm this doctrine, and that of his own certain knowledge; and earnestly exhorts all Catholics, of all sexes, and in all countries, that they would use these documents, and be instructed by them."

Now, this erroneous and impious (yet Roman Catholic) doctrine, so highly approved and commended at Rome, even by the Pope himself, being granted, it is no wonder if the Jesuits and the Popish party securely design and endeavour the extirpation and utter ruin of Protestants, kings or subjects, and all those they call heretics, with fire or sword, poison or pistols, Gunpowder Plots, and any conspiracies. For although such actions to all sober men, even honest pagans, are, and ever have been, justly accounted prodigious impieties, yet to the Jesuits and Popish party they are not so. For, 1. They are so far from believing such actions sinful, that when they are done out of zeal for their Catholic cause, and with the approbation of their superiors, which they

never want, they are, in their esteem, virtuous and (which is more) meritorious, as will appear hereafter. 2. But if such actions should to their own private judgments appear to be (what indeed they are) impious; yet they have been taught and learned this lesson, "That they must⁹ reject all their own reason, and sense, too, and acquiesce in the judgment of their superiors; who," when they say white is black, and enjoin villanies for virtues, "must be submitted to, and," with* a BLIND OBEDIENCE, "obeyed, and persuade themselves that ALL THINGS ARE JUST and LAWFUL which are commanded by their superiors."

I know that the Jesuits, to hide and palliate the error and impiety of that absolute and impious obedience, which (by their rules and constitutions) is required of their inferiors; and to make us believe, that they expect obedience (and their inferiors bound to give it) only in things "just and lawful;" they do sometimes seem to give a sober exposition and qualification of that "universal obedience" they require of their inferiors, thus: "inferiors must obey their superiors IN ALL THINGS;" that is, "in all things in which there is¹ NO MANIFEST SIN."

But these are only Jesuitical frauds, and miserable shifts and fig-leaves, which may for some time, and from some, conceal their sin and shame, but neither are nor can be, any just apology to vindicate their doctrine of obedience, and justify and free it from that impiety where-with it stands charged. For,

1. The inferiors, according to their² rules and received constitutions, that his obedience may be perfect, must renounce and reject all his own

(9) Regula 13,
Paulo ante citata.

(1) "Obediendum in OMNIBUS, in quibus NULLUM est MANIFESTUM PECCATUM." — Constit. Societatis Jesu cum Declarat.: Antwerp, 1635, part 6, cap. 1, page 233. "Et ubi definitur non possit aliquod peccati genus, intercedere." — Ibid, page 234.

(2) Vide Regulas Servandas ut cum Ecclesia vere sentiamus (superius citatas), 1. and 13.

* "Ut obedientia sit perfecta, quicquid nobis injunctum fuerit, obeundo, OMNIA JUSTA ESSA, nobis persuadendo, OMNEM sententiam ac JUDICIUM NOSTRUM contrarium, CÆCA quadam OBEDIENTIA, abnegando." Ita Constitutiones cum Declarat. Societatis Jesu: Antwerp, 1635, part 6, cap. 1, page 233; and Ibidem, part 3, cap. 1, sec. 23, page 123. And this obedience is to be given to their superior as to Christ himself—"Qui obedit, considerare debet vocem a superiore eggressam, UT ET A CHRISTO DOMINO GUARDANDUM, ut OMNINO DIVINÆ Majestati placeat possit."—Ibid. In Rham. General. cum. Declarat., cap. 4, page 37.

(3) "Obedientia sancta et perfecta, quod ad executionem attinet, tunc præstat, cum res jussa completur: quoad voluntatem, cum ille qui obedit, ID IPSUM VULT, QUOD QUI JUBET: quoad intellectum, cum ID IPSUM SENTIT, quod ILLE QUI JUBET." — Constit. dictæ cum Declarat., page 233.

(4) "Valde necessarium est, ut OMNES perfectæ obedientiæ se dedant, superiorem (QUI CUNQUE ille sit), LOCO CHRISTI agnoscetes, et quæ injungit, INTEGRÆ, PROMPTÆ, &c. Sine excusationibus et obmurmurationibus obediunt." — Ibid, part 3, cap. 1, page 123.

(5) Ibid, dicta pp. 123 and 152; and part 4, cap. 10, page 183.

(6) Epist. 1 Ignatii, De Virtute Obedientiæ, ad Fratres Lusitanos, sec. 4.

(7) Ibid, sec. 3 and sec. 11.

(8) "Superior, cui nos, ut Dei vicem gerenti, et DIVINÆ VOLUNTATIS INTERPRETI, moderandos tradidimus." — Ignatius, Epist. 1, De Virtute Obedientiæ, ad Lusitanos, sec. 11.

reason and sense, so far, that if he "see" and "know" such a thing to be "black" and "impious," yet if his superior say, it is "white" and "virtuous," he (in contradiction to his own sense and reason) must both "say"³ and "think" so too. This is that "perfect obedience, which they commend to, and require of all inferiors, to be paid to any, to every superior; and it must be entirely, perfectly, and readily performed without any excuse or murmuring." So that if the thing commanded by the superior do appear sinful to the inferior, yet he must not believe what he knows, but do what he is commanded by his superior.

2. Those under command (by the constitutions of that Society) must look upon their superiors, as persons in the⁶ "place of Christ Jesus; tanquam⁶ CHRISTI VICARIOS, ET⁷ CHRISTI VICEM GERENTES, Christi partes agentes." By the way, the reader may observe, that by this Jesuitical divinity, or polity (call it what you will, you cannot miscall it, unless you call it just and true), every superior in the whole series of that Society, is the vicegerent and VICAR OF CHRIST, and to be obeyed by his inferiors, as well as the Pope himself. How the Pope will like this, I neither know nor care; but sure I am, that "a learned Spaniard, and* zealous Papist, has both said, and (by evident instances) proved, that (to gain the monarchy of the world to themselves) the Jesuits are both innovators in matters of faith and religion, rebellious and perfidious to the Pope as well as secular kings and princes."

3. And having declared their "superiors" to be God's vicegerents and "vicars of Christ," they further say, that their "superiors are⁸ INTERPRETERS of the DIVINE WILL, to whose govern-

* Alphonsus de Vargas Toletanus is the man I mean; and the title of his book is this—"Relatio ad Reges et Principes Christianos, de Stratagematis et Sophismatis Politicis Societatis Jesu, ad Monarchiam Orbis terrarum sibi conficiendam. In qua Jesuitarum erga Reges ac populos infidelitas, ergaque ipsum Pontificem perfidia, contumelia, et in rebus fidei novandi libido, illustribus documentis comprobatur."—Edita anno 1636, et postea anno 1642.

ment they have given up themselves," and to obey their commands, "as if* Christ himself had given them; so that the will and judgment of their superiors is to be⁹ THE RULE of theirs," and to be in all things obeyed. And this absolute, blind, and impious obedience to their superiors, Ignatius, the founder of that Society, highly approves and commends to them, telling them, "that whether their† superiors be wise or foolish, honest or impious, yet they are equally to be obeyed, as they are GOD'S VICEGERENTS, who is infallibly wise, and will supply their want of understanding AND HONESTY too." So that (by this divinity) let their superiors be never so simple, sinful, and impious, yet their inferiors may securely obey, and do WHATSOEVER they bid them. And this he thinks (which no wise man would) he has clearly proved out of express Scripture, Matthew xxiii. 2, 3. Our Saviour, saith he, when he had said, "the Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair;" he adds, "WHATSOEVER therefore they say unto you, that observe and do." If the Jesuits say, they succeed those Jews (the Scribes and Pharisees) in Moses' chair, then they might, though without all sense and consequence, argue for themselves, as they usually do for the Pope, *jure successionis*, thus: "The Pope sits in Peter's chair, therefore he is as infallible as he; and whatsoever he says must be observed." Thus Pope Agatho argues, and 'tis by¹ Gratian registered, and² by Pope Gregory XIII. confirmed for law. So they argue for the Pope; and so with equal reason (yet ridiculously) the Society might argue (as Ignatius does, a bold

(9) Summarium
Constit. Societat.
Jesu., sect. 31, page
17: Antwerp, 1635.

(1) "Sic OMNES
apostolicæ sedis
SANCTIONES acci-
piendæ sunt, tan-
quam ipsius DIVINI
PATRI ORIS firmatæ
sint."—Can. sic om-
nes, 2 Dist. 19.

* "Qui obedit, considerare debet vocem a superiore quocunque egressam, ut si a Christo Domino nostro egrederetur, et omnino Divinæ Majestati placere possit."—Ita Constitut. Societat. Jesu., et Examen cum Declarat.: Antwerp, 1635, cap. 4, sect. 30, page 37.

(2) Bulla Romæ,
data 1 July, 1580:
Juri Canonico præ-
fixa.

† "Superiori non ideo obtemperandum, quod divinis donis ornatus sit, sed ob id solum, quod vices gerat Dei. Si prudentia minus valeat, non ideo quidquam de obedientia remittendum, quia illius personam refert cujus sapientia falli non potest; supplebit enim ipse quicquid ministro defuerit; sive probitate alioq.; ornamentis careat."—Ignatius, Epistle 1, de Virtute Obedientiæ, ad Lusitanos, sect. 3, page 13.

soldier, but a very bad disputer) for themselves, thus: "we succeed the Scribes and Pharisees, and sit in Moses' chair; therefore whatsoever we say must be observed." But I suppose they will not say, that they succeed the Scribes and Pharisees, whose corrupt doctrine, and impious manners, our blessed Saviour so often, and so

(3) Matt. xvi. 6, justly³ condemns, and against whom he⁴ pronounces many sad and deserved woes. And if they deny (as sure enough they will) that they

(4) Matt. xxiii. 13, succeed those impious and heretical Scribes and Pharisees; then their founder's reason is worse, and, if that be possible, more ridiculous, being only this—"WHATEVER those Jews, Scribes, and

Pharisees said, sitting in Moses'* chair, was to be observed: *Ergo*, WHATEVER those Christians (the superiors of the Jesuits) say, who do not sit in Moses' chair, must be observed; *sed apage nugas, apinasque tricas*." Such stuff as this, is neither worthy to be proposed, nor seriously confuted: nor had I troubled the reader, or myself, with any answer to it, had not, in their esteem, so great a saint and soldier as Ignatius so confidently urged it; and lest they might think or say (as sometimes they do), that such arguments, because they were not, could not be answered.

Well, but though Ignatius's reasons are weak, yet his faith is strong, and (without any good reason or concluding premises) he firmly believes his position ("that his Society must give blind and absolute obedience to all the commands of their superiors"), and earnestly⁵ presseth all his Society to believe and practise it. And since his decease (whether induced thereunto by his authority, or their own interest, for they neither have nor can have any true reason for a false position, I know not), I say, since his decease, his Society have approved,⁶ received, and indus-

(5) Especially in his Epistle Ad Fratres Lusitanos, De Virtute Obedientiæ. Data Romæ, 7 Cal. Aprilis, anno 1553.

(6) They have approved and received Ignatius's Epistles, his Exercitia Spiritualia, &c., in their Instituta Societatis Jesu: Ant., 1635.

* They sat in Moses' chair (as interpreters of his law), and therefore, whatever they taught the people which was consonant to the law and mind of Moses, was to be observed, otherwise not. And, therefore, our blessed Saviour bids his disciples beware of their doctrine (as well as of their manners).—Matt. xvi. 12.

triously vindicated his doctrine of obedience. For, to give you a short sum of what they say,

1. He and they agree, that inferiors (to the end they may have that perfect obedience which they require) must renounce and utterly reject all their own⁷ WILLS, JUDGMENT, and senses; so far, that, if their "superiors say, Snow is black, they must believe and say it is so too, though their senses see it is white."

2. Nay, they must not only renounce, but (as their founder Ignatius says) "mortify, kill, and slay" their own "wills and judgments" by their obedience.⁸ "Per obedientiam voluntates vestras ac judicia MACTATE," &c. "So that inferiors^{*} must PERSUADE themselves, that it is DIVINE PROVIDENCE which moves and rules them by their SUPERIORS. And therefore they must be like DEAD CARCASSES, or as SLAVES in the hands of their superiors, which suffer themselves to be MOVED, HANDLED, and CARRIED WHITHER and WHAT WAY THEY PLEASE." The inferior is not permitted to "consider, examine, or try," whether the commands be just, and (according to the will of God) lawful; but they⁹ must "execute and obey them, and that ENTIRELY, READILY, and BOLDLY."

3. And the commands of their superiors is to be¹ "THE RULE both of their WILL and JUDGMENTS;" and they are "bound to believe" that (whatever the thing enjoined be) "HE COMMANDS² WELL," and that all the things enjoined "are³ JUST and GOOD;" and so good, that "NOTHING BETTER could be done;" nor God better pleased with anything his own[†] will or judgment

(7) Regula 1 and 13, superius citata. "Necesse est, ut omnes perfectæ obedientiæ se dedant, superiori obediant, licet difficilia, et secundum sensualitatem (i.e., sensum) repugnantia jubeat: veram abnegationem propriæ voluntatis et judicii habeant."—Summarium Constitutionum, sec. 31, page 17.

(8) Ignatius Epis. 2, De Perfect. Religiosa: Romæ, 4 Non. Mart., 1547.

(9) "Quæ superior injungit, INTRE, PROMPTÉ, et SINE EXCUSATIONIBUS OBEDIANT."—In Summario Constitut., quæ AB OMNIBUS observandæ sunt, sect. 31, page 17; and Constitut., part 3, cap. 1, sec. 23.

(1) "Proposita voluntate et judicio superioris, PRO REGULA suæ voluntatis et judicii."—Dicta, sec. 31, page 17.

(2) "Quod jubetur, BENE JUBERI EXISTIMET."—Constitut. cum Declarat., part 6, cap. 1, page 234.

(3) "QUICQUID nobis injunctum fuerit, obeundo, OMNIA JUSTA ESSE, NOBIS PERSUADENDO."—Ibid, page 233.

* "Sibi quisque persuadeat se ferri ac Regi Divina Providentia per superiores; et sinere debet, ac si cadaver esset, quod quocunque versus ferri, quacunque ratione, tractari se sinit; vel ut senis baculus, qui ubicunque, et quacunque in re velit se uti, qui eum manu tenet, ei inservit."—Constitut. cum Declarat., part 6, sec. 1, cap. 1, page 234.

† "Sic enim obediens rem quancunque, cui eum superior velit impendere, debet exequi; pro certo habens, quod ea ratione potius, quam re alia quavis, quam præstare possit, propriam voluntatem et judicium diversum sectando, Divinæ voluntati respondebit."—Ibid, page 234.

could suggest, different from the command of his superior.

4. And lastly, it is all the reason in the world that they should give such absolute obedience to their superiors, were their principles true (which are indeed evidently erroneous and impious), for they say, as is before observed and proved, that every superior is "a VICEGERENT and VICAR OF CHRIST;" that his inferiors are to look upon him as such, and obey his commands as the commands^d of JESUS CHRIST.

(4) "Ad superioris VOCEM PER-
INDU, ac si a
CHRISTO DOMINO RE-
GREDERETUR, quam
promptissimissimus,
re quavis relictis."—
Dicto Summario
Constitut., sec. 34,
page 18.

The premises considered, I think we have very much (too much) reason to believe, that while there are Jesuits in England, superiors (such as the Pope, their general, provincial, &c.) to command and inferiors to obey, it is impossible our gracious king, or his Protestant subjects, should be safe, unless they repent and renounce their impious principles and bloody practices, (which is impossible whilst they believe those true and these just), or the good God of heaven and earth do, as hitherto in great mercy he has, by a powerful Providence discover and defeat their conspiracies. For as it is notoriously known to this and other nations, that during the times of Queen Elizabeth, King James, Charles the Martyr, and our gracious sovereign now happily restored, they have impiously designed and endeavoured, by open war, by poison and pistol, Gunpowder Plots, and horrid conspiracies, to destroy our princes and our religion; so we have little reason to doubt but while there are such persons possessed with a belief of such principles, they will continue to design, and, when they have ability and opportunity, execute such damnable and, to Protestant princes and people, destructive conspiracies. I would not wrong the meanest Jesuit (were he in danger) to save my life; nor will I conceal their principles, dangerous to our country and religion, though, what I do not fear, I lose it. For this were basely to betray my religion and my country too; things which are, and, to all good men, ever should, and will, be more valuable than a thousand lives.

Give me leave, therefore, courteous reader, to add, not what I, but what the Jesuits say of themselves and Society. And here,

1. Father Campian (who though hanged at Tyburn for high treason, yet at Rome is reputed a famous martyr) tells us,* "That ALL THE JESUITS in the world have long since entered into covenant ANY WAY TO DESTROY all heretical KINGS; nor do they despair of doing it effectually so long as any one Jesuit remains in the world."

And Father Creswel (if Hospinian cite him right, for in this place and time I have not the book about me), in his *Philopater*, tells us, "that ALL CATHOLICS are to be so instructed, that when they have an opportunity to kill heretics, they should not suffer any impediment to hinder them." So that if you say, in *facinus jurasse putes*, that the Jesuits are entered into a covenant to kill and destroy all heretical kings, you wrong them not, for you say no more than they themselves in print and publicly confess.

2. And this we may the rather believe, because (according to their belief and principles) if they do this, if they murder a thousand heretics (kings or subjects) it is no mortal sin in them. For they say† (and by that motive seduce many young novices into their Society), that they cannot commit any mortal sin. For Ignatius, their founder, by his prayers obtained that privilege

* "Jesuitas omnes in universo terrarum orbe, *foedus*, ad reges hereticos quovis modo tollendos, jam pridem iniisse. Quod (iniquit) ad Societatem nostrum attinet, velim scias, omnes nos, qui sumus de Societate Jesu, per totum terrarum orbem longe lateque diffusi, *sanctum foedus* iniisse, vestras machinas facile superaturos, neque unquam desperaturos, quamdiu vel unus quispiam e nobis supererit."—Ita Campianus Jesuita, in *Epist. ad Consiliarios Reginae Angliae, Treveris Excusa* Ann. 1583, page 22. And Hospinian, who cites it in his *Historia Jesuitica*, page 264 (it should be 246), adds what Creswel the Jesuit says in his *Philopater* (I take it upon his word, for I have not my books about me)—"Ita informandos quoscunque Catholicos, ut oblata cedis occasione, *nullo impedimento* se dimo veri patiantur." They must kill kings (if heretics) when they have opportunity.

† "Vulgo certe hoc Jesuitae faciunt, ut cum in Societatem pueros alliciunt, in hoc meliorem Societatis suae, quam aliorum Ordinum conditionem esse praedicent, quod Ignatius a Deo precibus obtinuerit, ut per 100 annos inde ab eo die, quo regulam

for them, that for an 100 years, beginning from the confirmation of his Order, none of his Society should commit any mortal sin; and their great St. Xaverius procured the continuance of that privilege for 200 years longer. So that, by this account, since the year of our Lord 1540 (when

(5) The Bull of Pope Paul III. which confirmed that Society, is dated 1 Cal. Oct., 1540. In magno Bullario Romano, Lugduni, 1655, tom. 1, page 740.

(6) "Quo minus autem apud pueros et adolescentes rerum imperitos, eos talia quis jactare admiretur, 1580 FREDERICO BORROMÆO Cardinali non dubitarunt TALI SE PRIVILEGIO VENDITARE," &c.—Alphons. de Vargas, Ibid, cap. 14. 'Tis true, the Cardinal did not believe them (as certainly no wise man will). "Borromæo non persuaserunt, verum etiam ita eum sibi alienarunt, ut in posterum nec visos, nec auditos vellet, quemadmodum amicis non semel fassus est," &c.—Idem ibidem.

the Jesuits' Order was confirmed) to the year 1840, the Jesuits neither have nor can commit any mortal sin, if it be true that they have such a privilege, which they publicly affirm not only to the common people, but to Cardinal Francisco⁶ Boromæo, as a learned author tells me, and he no Huguenot or Lutheran, but a zealous Spanish and Romish Catholic. How great encouragement this may give them to kill all heretics (it being so much for the Catholic cause and their temporal interest, and no mortal sin), it will highly concern all Protestant princes and their good subjects seriously and timely to consider.

3. But as for this privilege from all mortal sin, which Cardinal Boromæus did not, nor is it possible any, who has not strong delusion to believe a lie, should believe; yet to the Jesuits who do believe it, and teach their inferiors, who are bound to obey them, to do so too; it must, of necessity, be a great encouragement of them to commit any crime how great soever, seeing that by that privilege, let them do or say what they will, they are secured from any mortal sin, and for their venial sins (if there were any such), they may put them into Purgatory; but, if their own approved principles be true, they cannot hinder them from heaven and eternal happiness. But, let this be as it will, there is another thing which may give all Protestants just cause to fear, that the Jesuits will be very ready to design and, when and where they are able, execute any villany, by poison, pistol, Gunpowder Plot, or any traitorous

ejus fedes apostolica probavit, nemo sociorum in lethale peccatum incidere queat. Cujus privilegii prorogationem, Xaverium in alios 200 annos a Deo Societati impetrasse, ab hinc triennium Jesuitæ in Alsatia plenis buccis gloriabantur."—Alphons. de Vargas Toletanus in Relat. de Stratag. Jesuitarum, cap. 14, page 39, edit. 1636; and page 110, 111, edit. 1642.

and black conspiracy, for the destroying and ex-
 tripation of all heretics, especially Protestants,
 and that thing is the exceeding corruption of their
 manners and personal impieties. For the worst
 of men will be most willing, without fear or
 reluctancy, to commit the greatest wickedness.
 Now, as for the personal wickedness and impieties
 of the Jesuits, I neither do nor can say anything
 upon my own knowledge, being not at all ac-
 quainted with their conversation, but I shall pro-
 duce such witnesses as are without exception, and
 may challenge and deserve credit; I mean all the
 Universities of Spain, venerable corporations and
 bodies of men, and they not heretics, but learned
 and zealous Roman Catholics, who, in a book
 or remonstancie against the Jesuits, printed and
 given to the King of Spain, give this character
 of the Jesuits:—"That they are men notoriously
 covetous, insatiable, COZENERS, thieves, and stealers
 of the king's revenue, arrogant, ambitious, flat-
 terers of princes, courtiers, everywhere entang-
 ling themselves in secular businesses, fraudulent,
 liars, corrupters of truth, defamers of virtue,
 enemies of a religious life, lovers of pleasure, im-
 postors under a veil of piety, wolves in sheep's
 clothing, lovers of novelties, contemners of the
 holy doctors, partners with Calvin and Luther,
 and suspected of heresy, troublers of the public
 peace, men of diabolical industry, serpents, and
 very Cocodæmons, or evil spirits, of whom all
 should be aware and fly from them."

This character of the Jesuits is none of mine;
 it is a Spanish history, not my calumny of them.
 I do, and shall pray for them, that if they be
 guilty of all or some of this (as I fear they are),
 God Almighty would be graciously pleased to
 give them true penitence and pardon too. What
 answer they have given, or can give, to this accu-
 sation, which has been public and in print above
 forty years, I know not, I have not yet heard of
 any. In the meantime I shall desire the reader
 to consider the quality of the witnesses, who
 charge them with so many and enormous crimes.
 1. They are no Protestants (or any they do or

(7) "*Academiæ Hispaniarum libello ad regem misso, misso, typisque descripto, Jesuitas sic describunt, ut homines palam avaros, insatiabiles, æruscatores, regiorum vectigalium fures, arrogantes, ambitiosos, principum assentatores, aulicos, et negotiis secularibus ubique se implicant, fraudulentos, mendaces, veritatis interversores, infamatores virtutis, vitæ religiosæ hostes, deliciarum amatores, impostores pietatis velo opertos, lupos in vestimentis ovium, novitatum amicos, sanctorum doctorum contemptores, Lutheri et Calvinii partiaros, ac de hæresi suspectos, pacis publicæ perturbatores, diabolicæ industriæ homines, serpentes, ipsosque Cocodæmones, ac ab omnibus cavendos ac fugiendos.*"—Alphon. de Vargas Tolletanus, *De Stratagematis Jesuitarum*, pages 37, 38, edit. 1642; and page 15, edit. 1636.

dare call heretics), but Papists. 2. Nor they simple persons, but corporations and bodies of men. 3. Nor they townsmen and mere laics so that it might be thought they did it out of hatred or envy, according to the gloss in their Canon Law, *Laici sunt clericis oppidò infestissimi*, but they are great and learned bodies of men and universities. 4. Nor some few of them, but many—all the universities of a great kingdom. 5. And that a most Catholic kingdom, very zealous for the Pope and Popery; to wit, Spain. 6. Nor is it any private testimony given in some particular court; but public, exhibited to their king in print, and so to the world. 7. Lastly, they witness against persons they had great reason and opportunities to know, living amongst them and having continual conversation with them, and so must needs be *testes idonei*, most competent witnesses against them. And, therefore, Protestants have very great reason and evidence to believe that the Jesuits are such persons as their own party, by such authentic testimonies, prove them to be.

The premises considered—that is, the principles, the persons, the encouragements the Jesuits have to seek the ruin and destruction of all Protestants, princes and people—the advice of the universities of Spain will, to all prudent men, seem very reasonable, that persons of such principles—*Ab omnibus sunt cavendi et fugiendi*, I may add *fugandique*—should be with all care and caution avoided and banished out of all Protestant countries; it being morally impossible (as sad experience shows) they should enjoy peace and safety long where such restless spirits, encouraged and resolved to endeavour their ruin, do remain.

But besides these (peculiar to the Jesuits) there are more and greater encouragements (common to them and all the Popish party) to design and endeavour the extirpation of all heretics, especially Protestants, who, in their account—and truth—are most dangerous to their erroneous and superstitious novelties, and the ruin of the Protestant religion. For Pope Innocent III., and

his General Council, promised those soldiers *cruce signati*, or *crusado's*, as they called them, who having assumed the character of the cross, were armed for the extirpation and destruction of heretics, with fire and sword, the "same" privileges" they had who went to fight against the Turks and Saracens to recover the Holy Land. Now the privileges granted to those soldiers sent against the Turks, to omit several temporal advantages granted them for that service, were especially and principally two:—

1. "The Pope and^o General Council grants them a¹ plenary indulgence, and pardon of all their sins." This they have here, while they lived.
2. They promise those soldiers "not only heaven, and glory in it, but a² greater degree and measure of it hereafter."

And here I shall desire the reader to consider,

1. The excellency of the reward, "grace here," and "glory hereafter." 2. Who it is that promises all this; the Pope, and a great and (by them) approved General Council. 3. The assurance and certainty they may have of enjoying what's promised, arising from the authority and infallibility of the Pope and Council, who make the promise; whose authority and judgment is, and to all Papists (unless they will deny their received principles), supreme and infallible. 4. And seeing so glorious a reward is, by such authority, promised for murdering heretics, they may be assured that the doing it is, at least, innocent and lawful, unless they will confess (which would overthrow the foundation of their religion) that the Pope and General Council may be guilty of so great an error and impiety, as to promise heaven for impious and unlawful actions, which neither do nor can deserve anything but damnation. 5. Many things may be, and are lawful, which are not necessary, nor (in some times and circumstances) expedient; but this destroying heretics with fire and sword, according to the Popish principles, is not only lawful but a neces-

(8) "Catholici qui crucis assumpto characterē, ad hæreticorum EXTERMINUM se accinxerint, illa gaudeant indulgentia, illoque privilegio sint muniti, quod accedentibus ad terræ sanctæ subsidium conceditur."—Concil. Lateranum 4, anno 1215, can. 3, De Hæreticis.

(9) "Sacro aprobante Concilio."—In Bulla Innocentii III., dat. Romæ, 19 Cal. Jan. 1215. In Bullario Romano Lugduni, 1655, page 88, tom. 1.

(1) "Plenum suorum peccaminum veniam indulgemus."—Ibidem dictæ Bullæ, sec. 17, page 89.

(2) "In retributione justorum, salutis æternæ pollicemur AUGMENTUM."—Ibidem.

(3) "COMPELLANTUR potestates seculares cujuscunq; officii, ut præsentent PUBLICE juramentum, quod de terris suis jurisdictioni subjectis UNIVERSOS hæreticos ab Ecclesia denotatos, exterminare studeant: ita ut amodo quando-cunque quis fuerit in potestatem spirituales seu temporales assumptus, hoc tenetur capitulum affirmare."—Concil. Lateran. 4, dicto Can. 3.

(4) "Si dominus temporalis requisitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare NEGLEXERIT ab hæretica pravitate, excommunicationis vinculo innodetur; et si satisfacere neglexerit infra annum, significetur summo Pontifici, ut ex tunc ipse vassallos suos ab ejus fidelitate denuntiet absolutus, et terram exponat Catholicis occupandam."—Dictum Concil., dicto Can. 3.

sary duty, which, upon pain of excommunication and a curse, they are bound to do. For, by the decree of Pope Innocent and his General Council, all secular supreme³ powers are to be "COMPELLED to take an oath PUBLICLY" to extirpate all heretics; and not only supreme powers, but all inferior powers and governors, ecclesiastical and civil, are to take such oath. So that, being bound both by the decree of the Council, and a sacred oath to do it, it must of necessity be a duty which they are bound to do, that is, to destroy all heretics; and that so necessary a duty, that if kings were but⁴ NEGLIGENT, and did not presently do it, they were to be excommunicated; and if they did not give satisfaction within a year, it was to be signified to the Pope, that he might presently depose them, and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and give away their kingdoms to Catholics, who would be bloody, obey the Pope, and destroy heretics.

By the premises it does to me, and will, I believe, to many more, seem evident that the murdering heretical Protestant—for at Rome they are believed and declared heretics—excommunicated kings and subjects, is not only, 1. A lawful action; but, 2. In the judgment of the Church of Rome a necessary duty, at least in some times and cases, though to all other sober Christians a damnable sin; and, 3. Such a meritorious duty, as shall have remission of sins here, and a higher degree of glory hereafter; 4. And the doers of it shall, in their Popish calendars and martyrologies, be rendered to posterity, not for, what indeed they are, impious murderers, but glorious martyrs. Now, how great encouragement such impious principles and promises may give those, who have faith enough to believe them, to contrive and attempt any villany for the Catholic cause, and utter extirpation of all Protestants, whether prince or people, times past are, and, unless the gracious and powerful providence of heaven prevent it, future times may be, sad witness. Certainly, traitorous and horrid Gunpowder conspiracies, murdering innocent Christians,

even kings and princes, *causâ indictâ et inauditâ*, neither is nor can be a just means to obtain indulgences, remission of sins, and the crown of martyrdom. Traitors may be murderers, but surely no martyrs; such villanies, however approved and highly rewarded by the Pope and his party, may be a Roman but no Christian way to heaven. However, all those unhappily deluded souls who believe, as all the thorough-paced Papists do and must, the Pope and Council's infallibility, and power to make good their promises, will, as hitherto they have, be willing to design and endeavour the destruction of all heretics—all Protestants, to be sure, whether kings or subjects—either by raising armies, open war, and rebellion when they have ability, or by assassinations, by pistol or poison, or Gunpowder conspiracies, when they have it not (as I pray and hope they never will), I trust that the infinitely wise and powerful providence of God, which, for the time past, has graciously preserved our princes and religion, and discovered and defeated all the black and impious conspiracies of their Popish enemies, will, for the future, if our ingratitude and impenitence do not hinder it, continue that preservation to the comfort of his Church and confusion of her enemies; former favours thankfully received from God, being sure pledges and assurances of future.

To conclude: When the impious designs of Rome, which had been working ever since the Reformation, did not prosper; when they could not, though cunningly and constantly endeavoured, either by poison, pistol, or open war, take away Queen Elizabeth, to bring in Mary Queen of Scotland; when they saw King James in quiet possession of the imperial crown of England, and saw his learning and love to the truly Catholic and apostolic faith of the Church of England to be such, that they despaired, as well they might, ever to be able to seduce him into a belief of their new Trent creed and Popish superstitions; they had no more patience—*læsa patientia sit furor*—but resolved, by a new and unheard of villany, a Gunpowder conspiracy, to take

(5) He made that protestation 12th Feb., anno Jacobi 2, anno Christi 1604.

away and murder him, that seeing he would not be for their religion, he should not be able to be against it. But that which increased the despair of the Jesuits and the Popish party, and their rage and fury against that good king, their lawful sovereign, was a solemn and pious protestation, made by the^s king, before the lords of his court, and by them publicly declared to all the judges, the Lord Chancellor of England, the bishops and great officers of state in the Star Chamber. By which they plainly perceived, that as their religion was never like to have the king's personal approbation, so he would never grant any TOLERATION of it to any others. That protestation of that learned and wise king, because it is worthy of perpetual memory, though now almost forgot, and the knowledge of this present age, and all posterity, I shall here faithfully set down as I find it in our authentic records. The occasion of that protestation was this—some of the discontented Puritan party had set afoot a scandalous report of the king, "THAT HE MEANT TO GRANT A TOLERATION TO POPERY." This highly offended his majesty, and, in contradiction to it, and confutation of it, he publicly made this solemn protestation,⁶ "That he never intended to give any toleration to Popery; and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it," &c. That God Almighty would be graciously pleased to preserve and bless his sacred majesty, and the whole royal family; and discover and, by his powerful Providence, defeat all the impious conspiracies of their enemies, that they may enjoy health and peace here, and heaven hereafter; this is, and, as in duty and loyalty I stand bound, while I live, ever shall be, the constant prayer of,

(6) See Judge Croke's Reports, London, 1652, part 2, anno Jacobi 2, page 37. And before that, Sir Francis Moor's Reports, page 755, where (in law French), we are told that the king's protestation was made to the lords at court, Feb. 12, and (by them) to all the judges and lords in the Star Chamber, on the 13th of Feb., Jacobi 2.

Courteous Reader,

Thy faithful Friend and Servant,

T. L.

London,
MDCLXXVIII.

King J A M E S ' S

S P E E C H

To Both Houses of

PARLIAMENT,

On occasion of the

GUNPOWDER TREASON:

With a Discourse of the manner of its Discovery,
and a perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings
against those horrid Conspirators.

L O N D O N :

as

Reprinted by His Majesty's Printers,

M.DC.LXXIX.

Whitehall, December 12, 1678.

By license from the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry, *this* book, containing King James's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on occasion of the Gunpowder Treason—with a discourse of the manner of its discovery, and a perfect relation of the whole proceedings against those horrid conspirators—may be reprinted

JO. COOKE.

A SPEECH

MADE BY KING JAMES TO BOTH HOUSES OF
PARLIAMENT, UPON OCCASION OF THE DIS-
COVERY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT, DESIGNED
TO BE EXECUTED ON THE 5TH NOVEMBER,
1605.

My Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and you the Knights and Burgesses of this Parliament, it was far from my thoughts, till very lately before my coming to this place, that this subject should have been ministered unto me, whereupon I am now to speak. But now it so falleth out, that whereas in the preceding session of this Parliament, the principal occasion of my speech was to thank and congratulate all you of this house, and in you, all the whole commonwealth (as being the representative body of the state), for your so willing and loving receiving and embracing of me in that place, which God and nature by descent of blood, had in his own time provided for me: so now my subject is, to speak of a far greater thanksgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater person, which is to God, for the great and miraculous delivery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole body of this estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approved sentence of divinity, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera ejus est*. For Almighty God did not furnish so great matter to his glory, by the creation of this great world, as he did by the redemption of the same. Neither did his generation of the little world, in our old and first Adam, so much set forth the praises of

God in his justice and mercy, as did our regeneration in the last and second Adam.

And now I must crave a little pardon of you, that since kings are in the word of God itself called gods, as being his lieutenants and vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinity; to compare some of the works of God the Great King towards the whole and general world, to some of his works towards me, and this little world of my dominions, compassed and severed by the sea from the rest of the earth. For as God for the just punishment of the first great sinner in the original world, when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full, did by a general deluge and overflowing of waters, baptize the world to a general destruction, and not to general purgation (only excepted Noah and his family, who did repent and believe the threatenings of God's judgment): so now, when the world shall wax old as a garment, and that all the impieties and sins that can be devised against both the first and second table, have and shall be committed to the full measure; God is to punish the world the second time by fire, to the general destruction and not purgation thereof. Although as it was done in the former to Noah and his family by the waters; so shall all we that believe be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the fire. In the like sort, I say, I may justly compare these two great and fearful doomsdays, where-with God threatened to destroy me, and all you of this little world that have interest in me. For although I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly kings, as being in the higher places, like the high trees, or stayest mountains, and steepest rocks, are most subject to the daily tempests of innumerable dangers—and I amongst all other kings, have ever been subject unto them,

not only ever since my birth, but even, as I may justly say, before my birth, and whilst yet in my conception—yet have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers than all the rest.

The first of them, in the kingdom where I was born, and passed the first part of my life ; and the last of them here, which is the greatest. In the former, I should have been baptised in blood, and in my destruction, not only the kingdom wherein I then was, but ye also by your future interest, should have tasted of my ruin. Yet it pleased God to deliver me, as it were, from the very brink of death, from the point of the dagger, and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgment of so great a benefit. But in this, which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, or sex should have been spared,—this was not a crying sin of blood as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay, a thundering sin of fire and brimstone, from the which God hath so miraculously delivered us all. What I can speak of this, I know not : nay rather, what can I not speak of it ? And therefore I must for horror say with the poet, *Vox faucibus hæret*.

In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was never either heard or read, I observe three wonderful, or rather miraculous events.

Three miraculous events be to be observed in the attempt :

First, In the cruelty of the plot itself, wherein cannot be enough wondered at the horrible and fearful cruelty of their device, which was not only for the destruction of my person, nor of my wife and posterity only, but of the whole body of the state in general ; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young nor of old, of great

I. The cruelty of the plot.

nor of small, of man nor of woman. The whole nobility, the whole reverend clergy bishops, and most part of the good preachers the most part of the knights and gentry; yea and if that any in this society were favourers of their profession, they should all have gone one way: the whole judges of the land, with the most of the lawyers and the whole clerks: and as the wretch himself that is in the Tower doth confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this House; that where the cruel laws (as they say) were made against their religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blown up at once. And then consider therewithal the cruel form of that practice; for by three different sorts in general may mankind be put to death.

Three ways
how mankind
may come to
death.

1. By man.

The first, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel; for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise who knoweth what pity God may stir up in the hearts of the actors at the very instant? besides the many ways and means, whereby men may escape in such a present fury.

2. By unrea-
sonable crea-
tures.

And the second way, more cruel than that, is by *animal* and unreasonable creatures: for as they have less pity than men, so is it a greater horror, and more unnatural for men to deal with them; but yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may be had, as was in the lions in whose den Daniel was thrown; or that thankful lion, that had the Roman slave in his mercy.

3. By insen-
sible things.

But the third, which is most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things: and amongst them all, the most cruel are the two elements of water and fire; and of those two the fire most raging and merciless.

II. The small
ground the con-
spirators had to
move them.

Secondly, How wonderful it is when you shall think upon the small, or rather no ground,

whereupon the practisers were enticed to invent this tragedy. For if these conspirators had only been bankrupt persons, or discontented upon occasion of any disgraces done unto them, this might have seemed to have been but a work of revenge. But for my own part, as I scarcely ever knew any of them, so cannot they allege so much as a pretended cause of grief; and the wretch himself in hands doth confess, that there was no cause moving him or them, but merely and only religion. And specially, that Christian men, at least so called, Englishmen, born within the country, and one of the specials of them my sworn servant, in an honourable place, should practise the destruction of their king, his posterity, their country, and all; wherein their following obstinacy is so joined to their former malice, as the fellow himself that is in hand cannot be moved to discover any signs or notes of repentance, except only—that he doth not yet stand to avow—that he repents for not being able to perform his intent.

Thirdly, The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are who be near about me. For as I ever did hold suspicion to be the sickness of a tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements or apprehensions of practices. And yet now at this time was I so far contrary to myself, as when the letter was showed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them (and in another sort than I am sure any divine or lawyer in any university would have taken them), to be meant by this horrible form of

III. Miraculous event, the discovery.

blowing us up all by powder ; and thereupon ordered, that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended : whereas, if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

And in that also, was there a wonderful providence of God, that when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, having his firework for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith, as he confesseth, if he had been taken immediately before, when he was in the house, he was resolved to have blown up himself with his takers.

One thing for my own part have I cause to thank God in, that if God for our sins had suffered their wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an alehouse, a stew, or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most honourable and best company, and in that most honourable and fittest place for a king to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his office ; and the more have we all cause to thank and magnify God for this his merciful delivery. And specially I for my part, that he hath given me yet once leave, whatsoever should come of me hereafter, to assemble you in this honourable place ; and here, in this place, where our general destruction should have been, to magnify and praise him for our general delivery ; that I may justly now say of mine enemies and yours, as David doth often say in the Psalms, *Inciderunt in foveam, quam fecerunt*. And since Scipio, an Ethnic, led only by the light of nature, on the day when he was accused by the tribunes of the people of Rome, for mispending and wasting in his Punic wars the

city's treasure, even upon the sudden brake out with a diversion from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day was the day of the year, wherein God hath given them so great a victory against Hannibal, and therefore it was fitter for them all, leaving other matters, to run to the temple to praise God for that so great delivery, which the people did all follow with one applause,—how much more cause have we that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for thanksgiving to God for his great mercy, though we had no other errand of assembling here at this time; wherein if I have spoken more like a divine than would seem to belong to this place, the matter itself must plead for mine excuse: for being here come to thank God for a divine work of his mercy, how can I speak of this deliverance of us from so hellish a practice, so well as in language of divinity, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I justly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this sentence, *The mercy of God is above all his works.*

It resteth now, that I should shortly inform you what is to be done hereafter upon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part that are my faithful and loving subjects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affections, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution, thereof (for which as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same): as it may very well be possible that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you in your speeches rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt; but, upon the other part, I wish you to consider, that I would be sorry that any being innocent of this practice, either domestic or foreign, should receive blame

or harm for the same. For although it cannot be denied that it was only the blind superstition of their errors in religion that led them to this desperate device, yet doth it not follow that all professing that Romish religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true that no other sect of heretics, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan no, not even those of Calicute, who adore the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion that it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the Romish Catholics call it), to murder princes or people for quarrel of religion. And although particular men of all professions of religion have been some thieves, some murderers, some traitors, yet ever when they came to their end and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature and not in their profession (these Romish Catholics only excepted); yet it is true on the other side, that many honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in the questions of the real presence, or in the number of the sacraments, or some such School question, yet do either not know, or at least not believe, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed *the mystery of iniquity*. And therefore do we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist. I therefore thus do conclude this point, that as upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects; so upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds, and School conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful subjects. And for the part of foreign princes and states, I may so

much the more acquit them, and their ministers, of their knowledge and consent to any such villany, as I may justly say, 'that in that point I better know all Christian kings by myself, that no king or prince of honour will ever abase himself so much, as to think a good thought of so base and dishonourable a treachery: wishing you therefore, that as God hath given me an happy peace and amity with all other Christian princes my neighbours (as was even now very gravely told you by my Lord Chancellor), that so you will reverently judge and speak of them in this case. And for my part, I would wish, with those ancient philosophers, that there were a crystal window in my breast, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident, further than in those two points:—The first, caution and wariness in government; to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickedness as far as may be: the other, after due trial, severity of punishment upon those that shall be found guilty of so detestable and unheard of villany. And now in this matter, if I have troubled your ears with an abrupt speech, undigested in any good method or order, you have to consider that an abrupt and unadvised speech doth best become in the relation of so abrupt and unorderly an accident.

And although I have ordained the proroguing of this Parliament until after Christmas upon two necessary respects: whereof the first is, that neither I nor my Council can have leisure at this time both to take order for the apprehension and trial of these conspirators, and also to wait upon the daily affairs of the Parliament, as the Council must do. And the other reason is, the necessity at this time of divers of your presences in your shires that have charges and commissions there. For as these wretches

thought to have blown up in a manner the whole world of this island, every man being now come up here, either for public causes of Parliament, or else for their own private causes in law, or otherwise: so these rebels that now wander through the country, could never have gotten so fit a time of safety in their passage, or whatsoever unlawful actions, as now when the country by the foresaid occasions is in a manner left desolate and waste unto them. Besides that, it may be that I shall desire you, at your next session, to take upon you the judgment of this crime: for, as so extraordinary a fact deserves extraordinary judgment, so can there not, I think (following even their own rule), be a fitter judgment for them, then that they should be measured with the same measure wherewith they thought to measure us; and that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the just avengers of their so unnatural a parricide. Yet not knowing that I will have occasion to meet with you myself in this place at the beginning of the next session of this Parliament (because if it had not been for delivering of the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners of the Union, which was thought most convenient to be done in my presence, where both head and members of the Parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite here at this time), I have therefore thought good, for conclusion of this meeting, to discourse to you somewhat anent the true nature and definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories, till your next sitting down, that you may then make use of it as occasion shall be ministered.

For albeit it be true, that at the first session of my first Parliament, which was not long after mine entry into this kingdom, it could not become me to inform you of anything belonging to law or state here (for all knowledge must

either be infused or acquired, and seeing the former sort thereof is now with prophecy ceased in the world, it could not be possible for me, at my first entry here, before experience had taught it me, to be able to understand the particular mysteries of this state); yet now that I have reigned almost three years amongst you, and have been careful to observe those things that belong to the office of a king, albeit that time be but a short time for experience in others, yet in a king may it be thought a reasonable long time, especially in me, who, although I be but in a manner a new king here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a king in such another kingdom, as doth nearest of all others agree with the laws and customs of this state. Remitting to your consideration to judge of that which hath been concluded by the Commissioners of the Union, wherein I am at this time to signify unto you, that as I can bear witness to the foresaid Commissioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein anything wherein they have not foreseen as well the weal and commodity of the one country as of the other; so can they all bear me record, that I was so far from pressing them to agree to anything which might bring with it any prejudice to this people, as by the contrary I did ever admonish them never to conclude upon any such union as might carry hurt or grudge with it to either of the said nations; for the leaving of any such thing could not but be the greatest hindrance that might be to such an action, which God by the laws of nature had provided to be in his own time, and hath now in effect perfected in my person, to which purpose my Lord Chancellor hath better spoken than I am able to relate.

And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament, it is nothing else but the king's great Council, which the king doth assemble, either upon occasion of interpreting or abrogat-

ing old laws or making of new, according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the public punishment of notorious evil doers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well deservers; wherein these four things are to be considered:—

First, Whereof this court is composed.

Secondly, What matters are proper for it.

Thirdly, To what end it is ordained. And

Fourthly, What are the means and ways whereby this end should be brought to pass.

As for the thing itself, it is composed of a head and a body; the head is the king, the body are the members of the Parliament. This body, again, is subdivided into two parts—the Upper and Lower House: the Upper compounded partly of nobility, temporal men, who are heritable councillors to the high Court of Parliament by the honour of their creation and lands; and partly of bishops, spiritual men, who are likewise by the virtue of their place and dignity, councillors, life-renters, or *ad vitam* of this court. The other House is composed of knights for the shire, and gentry and burgesses for the towns. But because the number would be infinite for all the gentlemen and burgesses to be present at every Parliament, therefore a certain number is selected and chosen out of that great body, serving only for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that body.

Now, the matters whereof they are to treat ought therefore to be general, and rather of such matters as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that general body, and no more of these generals neither than necessity shall require; for as *in corruptissimâ republicâ sunt plurimæ leges*, so doth the life and strength of the law consist not in heaping up infinite and

confused numbers of laws, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome laws. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the one side for every rash and harebrain fellow to propose new laws of his own invention ; nay, rather I could wish these busy heads to remember that law of the Lacedemonians, that whosoever came to propose a new law to the people, behoved publicly to present himself with a rope about his neck, that in case the law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith. So wary should men be of proposing novelties, but most of all, not to propose any bitter or seditious laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment between the prince and his people : nor yet is it, on the other side, a convenient place for private men, under the colour of general laws, to propose nothing but their own particular gain, either to the hurt of their private neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole state in general, which many times, under fair and pleasing titles, are smoothly passed over, and so by stealth procure without consideration, that the private meaning of them tendeth to nothing but either to the wreck of a particular party, or else under colour of public benefit to pill the poor people, and serve as it were for a general impost upon them for filling the purses of some private persons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordained, being only for the advancement of God's glory, and the establishment and wealth of the king and his people : it is no place, then, for particular men to utter there their private conceits, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make show of their eloquence, by wasting the time with long studied and eloquent orations. No, the reverence of God, their king, and their country being well settled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of

such toys, and remember that they are there as sworn councillors to their king, to give their best advice for the furtherance of his service, and the flourishing weal of his estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the means and ways how to bring all your labours to a good end, you must remember, that you are here assembled by your lawful king to give him your best advices, in the matters proposed by him unto you, being of that nature, which I have already told, wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and upon your consciences plainly to determine how far those things propounded do agree with the weal, both of your king, and of your country, whose weals cannot be separated. And as for myself, the world shall ever bear me witness, that I never shall propose anything unto you, which shall not as well tend to the weal public, as to any benefit for me : so shall I never oppose myself to that, which may tend to the good of the commonwealth, for the which I am ordained, as I have often said. And as you are to give your advice in such things, as shall by your king be proposed, so is it on your part your duties to propose anything that you can, after mature deliberation, judge to be needful, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise for the discovery of any latent evil in the kingdom, which peradventure may not have come to the king's ears. If this, then, ought to be your grave manner of proceeding in this place, men should be ashamed to make show of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellows, for which the ordinaries or alehouses are fitter places than this honourable and high Court of Parliament.

In conclusion, then, since you are to break up, for the reasons I have already told you, I

wish such of you as have any charges in your counties, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherein, as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your prosperous success, so do I not doubt, but we shall shortly hear the good news of the same; and that you shall have an happy return, and meeting here to all our comforts.

[Here the Lord Chancellor spake touching the proroguing of the Parliament. And having done, his Majesty rose again, and said:]

Since it pleased God to grant me two such notable deliveries upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the month, which was the fifth; thereby to teach me, that as it was the same devil that still persecuted me, so it was one and the same God that still mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiss, that the one and twentieth day of January, which fell to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next session of Parliament, hoping and assuring myself, that the same God who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a delivery, shall prosper all our affairs at that next session, and bring them to a happy conclusion. And now I consider God hath well provided it that the ending of this Parliament hath been so long continued; for as for mine own part, I never had any other intention, but only to seek so far my weal and prosperity, as might conjunctly stand with the flourishing state of the whole Commonwealth, as I have often told you: so on the other part I confess, if I had been in your places at the beginning of this Parliament (which was so soon after mine entry into this kingdom, wherein ye could not possibly have so perfect a knowledge of

mine inclination, as experience since hath taught you), I could not but have suspected, and misinterpreted divers things, in the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behaviour and form of government, you are well enough cleared, and resolved.

A DISCOURSE

Of the Manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, together with the Examinations and Confessions of some of the most notorious Conspirators concerned in it.

"THERE is a time when no man ought to keep silence." For it hath ever been held as a general rule and undoubted maxim, in all well governed commonwealths, whether Christian, and so guided by the divine light of God's word, or ethnic, and so led by the glimmering twilight of nature, yet howsoever their profession was, upon this ground have they all agreed, that when either their religion, their king, or their country was in any extreme hazard, no good countryman ought then to withhold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and faculty, from aiding to repel the injury, repress the violence, and avenge the guilt upon the authors thereof. But if ever any people had such an occasion ministered unto them, it is surely this people now, nay this whole isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious monarchy. For if in any heathenish republic no private man could think his life more happily and gloriously bestowed, than in the defence of any one of these three, that is, either *pro aris*, *pro focus*, or *pro patre patriæ*; and that the endangering of any one of these, would at once stir the whole body of the commonwealth, not any more as divided members, but as a solid and individual lump: how much more ought we, the truly Christian people, that inhabit this united and truly happy isle, under the wings of our gracious and religious monarch? Nay,

Insula fortunata.

how infinitely greater cause have we to feel, and resent ourselves of the smart of that wound, not only intended and execrated (not consecrated) for the utter extinguishing of our true Christian profession, nor jointly therewith, only for the cutting off of our head and father politic, *Sed ut nefas istud et sacrilegiosum parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi possit?* And that nothing might be wanting for making this sacrilegious parricide a pattern of mischief, and a crime, nay a mother or storehouse of all crimes, without example they should have joined the destruction of the body to the head, so as *Grex cum rege, Aræ cum focus, Lares cum penetibus*, should all at one thunder-clap have been sent to heaven together: the king our head, the queen our fertile mother, and those young and hopeful olive plants not theirs but ours; our reverend clergy, our honourable nobility, the faithful councillors, the grave judges, the greatest part of the worthy knights and gentry; as well as of the wisest burgesses; the whole clerks of the crown, council, signet, seals, or of any other principal judgment-seat. All the learned lawyers, together with an infinite number of the common people; nay, their furious rage should not only have lighted upon reasonable and sensible creatures without distinction, either of degree, sex, or age; but even the insensible stocks and stones should not have been free of their fury. The hall of justice, the House of Parliament, the church used for the coronations of our kings, the monuments of our former princes, the crown and other marks of royalty, all the records, as well of Parliament, as of every particular man's right, with a great number of charters and such like, should all have been comprehended under that fearful chaos. And so the earth, as it were opened, should have sent forth of the bottom of the Stygian lake such sulphured smoke, furious flames,

and fearful thunder, as should have, by their diabolical doomsday, destroyed and defaced, in the twinkling of an eye, not only our present living princes and people, but even our insensible monuments reserved for future ages. So as not only ourselves that are mortal, but the immortal monuments of our ancient princes and nobility, that have been so precious preserved from age to age, as the remaining trophies of their eternal glory, and have so long triumphed over envious time, should now have been all consumed together; and so not only we, but the memory of us and ours, should have been thus extinguished in an instant. The true horror, therefore, of this detestable device, hath stirred me up to bethink myself wherein I may best discharge my conscience in a cause so general and common, if it were to bring but one stone to the building, or rather, with the widow, one mite to the common box. But since to so hateful and unheard of invention, there can be no greater enemy than itself, the simple truth thereof being once publicly known and divulged; and that there needs no stronger argument to bring such a plot in universal detestation, than the certainty that so monstrous a thing could once be devised, nay concluded upon, wrought in, in full readiness, and within twelve hours of the execution,—my threefold zeal to those blessings, whereof they would have so violently made us all widows, hath made me to resolve to set down here the true narration of that so monstrous and unnatural intended tragedy, having better occasion by the means of my service, and continual attendance in court, to know the truth thereof, than others that, peradventure, have it only by relation at the third or fourth hand. So that whereas those, worse than Catalines, thought to have extirpated us, and our memories, their infamous memory shall by these means remain to the end of the

world upon the one part; and upon the other God's great and merciful deliverance of his anointed, and us all, shall remain in never-dying records. And God grant that it may be in marble tables of thankfulness engraven on our hearts.

While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by those two main pillars of all good government, piety, and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; the king being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the term; as the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm, and as the sun shines often brightest to foretel a following shower, so at that time of greatest calm, did this secretly hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the Parliament), the Lord Mounteagle, son and heir to the Lord Morley, being in his own lodging, ready to go to supper, at seven o'clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent on an errand over the street) was met by an unknown man; of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that having broken it open, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown, and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or subscription, called one of his men unto him to help him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange

A letter delivered to the Lord Mounteagle.

contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised pasquil, by some of his enemies to scare him from his attendance at the Parliament), yet did he, as a most dutiful and loyal subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his Majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the Earl of Salisbury, his Majesty's principal secretary. Whereupon the said Earl of Salisbury having read the letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the king himself, as divers of his Privy Councillors, concerning some business the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the king, some petition for toleration of religion: which should be delivered in some such order and so well backed, as the king should be loath to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of Salisbury conclude with the Lord Mounteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his majesty's Council; which my Lord Mounteagle liked well, only adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event hereof

Revealed to
the Earl of
Salisbury.

Purpose of
the Papists for
delivering a pe-
tition to his
majesty, to crave
toleration of re-
ligion.

might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this letter, being only moved by his anxiety for the preservation of his majesty and the state. And thus did the Earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with the said letter, whereupon they two, in presence of the Lord Mounteagle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation to this letter, and from the tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his majesty's person, apprehended that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same, which did the more nearly concern the said Lord Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to oversee as well all places of assembly where his majesty is to repair, as his highness's own private houses. And therefore did the said two councillors conclude, that they should join unto themselves three more of the Council, to wit, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who having all of them concurred together to re-examine the contents of the said letter, they did conclude that how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of his majesty's person: yet resolved for two reasons, first, to acquaint the king himself with the same, before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing and solving of obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries; as also, because the more time would in the meanwhile be given for the practice to ripen, if any was, whereby

The Ld. Chamberlain made privy to the letter by the Earl of Salisbury.

Thought meet by the councillors to acquaint the king with the letter.

the discovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easy. And so, according to their determination, did the said Earl of Salisbury repair to the king in his gallery upon Friday, being Allhallow-day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his majesty's arrival, and none but himself being present with his highness at that time, he simply relating the form of the delivery of the letter, presented it to his majesty. The contents whereof follow:—

Upon Allhallow-day the Earl of Salisbury showed the letter to the king.

[AUTHENTIC COPY.]

“My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past, so soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: to whose holy protection I commend you.”

The king no sooner read the letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, than is usual to be in any pasquil or libel (the superfluities of idle brains); but the Earl of Salisbury perceiving the king to apprehend it more deeply than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool or mad man, reading to him this sentence in it, “*For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter;*” which he

His majesty's judgment of the letter.

said was likely to be the saying of a fool : for if the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the king, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, "*That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them,*" joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alleged, did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder, for no other insurrection, rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate attempt could be committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the authors thereof unseen, except only if it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner ; whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter (alleged by the Earl of Salisbury), against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar, as if by these words, "*For the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter,*" should be closely understood the suddenness and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed, and at an end, as that paper should be of blazing up in the fire ; turning that word of "*as soon,*" to the sense of "*as quickly.*" And therefore wished that before his going to the Parliament, the under rooms of the Parliament House might be well and narrowly searched. But the Earl of Salisbury, wondering at this his majesty's commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather ever sin upon the other side, in not apprehending nor trusting due advertisements of practices and perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into

His Majesty's
opinion for
searching of the
under rooms in
the Parliament
House.

many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time, to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state, more than of his own person, which could not but have all perished together, if this design had succeeded, he thought good to dissemble still unto the king, that there had been any just cause of such apprehensions. And ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it to his majesty, yet his customable and watchful care of the king and the state still boiling within him, and having laid up in his heart the king's so strange judgment and construction of it, he could not be at rest till he acquainted the aforesaid lords what had passed between the king and him in private. Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the subject to his majesty, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his highness; which he did in the same privy gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlain then being present with the king. At what time it was determined, that the said Lord Chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the Parliament Houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them; but yet, as well for staying idle rumours, as for being the more able to discern any mystery the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At which time he (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament House, accompanied by my Lord Mounteagle, being in zeal to the king's service, earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had

The determination to search the Parliament House, and the rooms under it.

Wood and
coal found by
the Lord Cham-
berlain in the
vault.

Guido Fawkes
hearing the
name of Percy's
man.

The Ld. Cham-
berlain's report
and judgment of
what he had ob-
served in the
search.

the fortune to be the first discoverer: where having viewed all the lower rooms, he found in the vault, under the Upper House, great store and provisions of billets, faggots, and coals; and inquiring of Whyneard, Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars, he told him, that Thomas Percy had hired both the house, and part of the cellar or vault under the same, and that the wood and coal therein was the said gentleman's own provision. Whereupon the Lord Chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, called himself the said Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him, but indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand which should have acted that monstrous tragedy.

The Lord Chamberlain looking upon all things with a heedful, yet to outward appearance with but a careless and reckless eye (as became so wise and diligent a minister), he presently addressed himself to the king in the said privy gallery, where, in the presence of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report, what he had seen and observed there; noting that Monteagle had told him, that he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the possessor of that house, but considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dear-ness in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the letter should come from him. The said Lord Chamberlain also remarking, that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain; as likewise the impression on his mind that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy; whereupon he in-

sisted (as before) that the house should narrowly be searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only for covering of the powder. Of the same mind also were all the councillors then present. But upon the manner of making the search, it was long debated; for upon the one side they were all so jealous of the king's safety, that they all agreed that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger: and yet, upon the other part, they were all extremely guarded lest in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the king and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earl of Northumberland, one of his majesty's greatest subjects and councillors,—this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the king detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the king's person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances by which this action might be best carried with least noise and occasion of slander. But the king himself still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could pre-judge no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, that either must all the parts of those rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to Parliament, and leave the success to fortune, which he

Disputations
about the man-
ner of the fur-
ther search.

Agreed that the search should be under the colour of seeking for wardrobe stuff, missed by Whyneard.

Fawkes found at midnight without the house.

believed they would be loath to take upon their consciences ; for in such a case as this, an half doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses ; and yet for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet that upon a pretence of Whyneard's missing some of the king's stuff or hangings which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir Thomas Knevet (a gentleman of his majesty's Privy Chamber) employed, being a Justice of Peace in Westminster, and one of whose ancient fidelity both the late queen and our now sovereign have had large proof ; who, according to the trust committed unto him, went about the midnight next after to the Parliament House, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding Thomas Percy's alleged man standing without the doors, his clothes and boots on, at so dead a time of night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where, after he had caused some of the billets and coals to be overturned, he first found one of the small barrels of powder, and after, all the rest, to the number of thirty-six barrels, great and small. And thereafter searching the fellow whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him, which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also unto him, that if he had happened to be within the house when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work), he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he brought with him, he himself

returned back to the king's palace, and gave warning of his success to the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl of Salisbury, who immediately warning the rest of the Council that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselves ready, came, with their fellow-councillors, to the king's bed-chamber, being at that time near four of the clock in the morning. And at the first entry of the king's chamber door, the Lord Chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the king in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands, and fast bound,

Upon Sir Tho.
Knevet's return
the Council
warned.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the Council, that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house, where, in respect of the strangeness of the accident, no man was staid from the sight or speaking with him. And within a while after, the Council examined him; who seeming to put on a Roman resolution, he appeared both to the Council, and to every other person that spake with him that day, so constant and settled upon his grounds, that we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scævola, born in England. For notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him, by coming into the presence of so great a Council, and the restless and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with, yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, that he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scævola, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (he said) the Devil and not God was the discoverer; answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded unto him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority

to examine him. All that day could the Council get nothing out of him touching his accomplices, refusing to answer any such questions as he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto, he said, he was moved only for religion and conscience' sake, denying the king to be his lawful sovereign, or the anointed of God, in respect he was an heretic, and giving himself no other name than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But the next morning being carried to the Tower, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the rack only offered and showed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face, and than did he begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appear by his depositions immediately following.

A TRUE COPY

Of the Declaration of GUIDO FAWKES, taken in the Presence of the Councillors whose Names are under written.

I CONFESS, that a practice in general was first broken unto me, against his majesty, for relief of the Catholic cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelve months, beyond the seas, in the Low Countries of the Archduke's obeisance, by Thomas Winter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright, who all five consulting together of the means how to execute the same, and taking a vow among ourselves for secrecy, Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the Upper House of Parliament; which place we made choice of the rather, because religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired a house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the Parliament House, and there we begun to make our mine about the 11th of December, 1604.

The five that first entered into the work were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself; and soon after we took another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the

wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner with oath and sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas when we brought our mine unto the wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the wall half through; and whilst they were in working, I stood as sentinel, to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar as of removing of coals, whereupon we feared we had been discovered: and they sent me to go to the cellar, who finding that the coals were a-selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

We had before this provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

About Easter, the Parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low Countries, by advise and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also lest by my longer stay I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question.

In the meantime Percy having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiving the key again of Percy, we brought in more powder and billets to cover the same again, and so I went for a

time into the country till the 30th of October.

It was further resolved amongst us, that the same day that this act should have been performed, some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the Lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the Lord Harrington's house, and presently have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose; wherein we made no mention of altering of religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke Charles, the king's second son, we had sundry consultations how to seize on his person. But because we found no means how to compass it (the duke being kept near London, where we had not forces enough), we resolved to serve our turn with the Lady Elizabeth.

The names of the principal persons that were made privy afterwards to this horrible conspiracy :—

EVERARD DIGBY, Knight.

AMBROSE ROOKWOOD.

FRANCIS TRESHAM.

JOHN GRANT.

ROBERT KEYES.

Commissioners :—

NOTTINGHAM.

WORCESTER.

SUFFOLK.

DEVONSHIRE.

NORTHAMPTON.

SALISBURY.

MARR.

DUNBAR.

POPHAM.

EDW. COKE.

W. WAAD.

And in regard that before this discourse could be ready to go to the press, Thomas Winter, being apprehended and brought to the Tower, made a confession in substance agreeing with this former of Fawkes, only larger in some circumstances, I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the reader.

THOMAS WINTER'S *Confession, taken the 23rd of November, 1605, in the presence of the Councillors whose names are under-written.*

MY MOST HONOURABLE LORDS,

NOT out of hope to obtain pardon ; for, speaking of my temporal part, I may say, the fault is greater than can be forgiven,—nor affecting hereby the title of a good subject ; for I must redeem my country from as great a danger as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion,—only at your honours' command I will briefly set down mine own accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business ; which I shall the more faithfully do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have been already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the country from Allhallowtide until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603, the first year of the king's reign ; about which time Master Catesby sent thither, entreating me to come to London, where he and others of my friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me, for I found myself not very well disposed ; and, which had happened never to me before, returned the messenger without my company. Shortly I received another letter, in anywise to come. At the second summons I presently came up, and found him with Mas-

ter John Wright at Lambeth, where he brake with me how necessary it was not to forsake our country, for he knew I had then a resolution to go over, but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the Catholic cause ; but for myself I knew no means probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our bonds, and, without any foreign help, to replant again the Catholic religion, and withal told me in a word it was to blow up the Parliament House with gunpowder ; for, said he, in that place have they done us all the mischief, and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit, and told him, that true it was this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations : but if it should not take effect, as most of this nature miscarried, the scandal would be so great which Catholic religion might hereby sustain, as not only our enemies, but our friends also, would with good reason condemn us. He told me, the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would give my consent. I told him, yes, in this or what elsesoever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, as want of a house, and of one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, let us give an attempt, and where it faileth pass no farther. " But first," quoth he, " because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you shall go over and inform the Constable of the state of the Catholics here in England, entreating him to solicit his majesty at his coming hither that the

penal laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other subjects: withal, you may bring over some confident gentleman, such as you shall understand best able for this business," and named unto me Mr. Fawkes. Shortly after I passed the sea, and found the Constable at Bergen, near Dunkirk, where, by the help of Mr. Owen, I delivered my message, whose answer was, that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the Catholics, and, for his own part, he thought himself bound in conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to Dunkirk with Mr. Owen, we had speech whether he thought the Constable would faithfully help us, or no. He said he believed nothing less, and that they sought only their own ends, holding small account of Catholics. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country until they had tried their uttermost, and rather venture their lives than forsake her in this misery. And, to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, wished for Mr. Fawkes, whom I had heard good commendations of; he told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels, and that if he came not, as haply he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into England. I went soon after to Ostend, upon a visit to Sir William Stanley, who was absent upon my arrival, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him, if the Catholics in England should do anything to help themselves, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, No, for all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, as they would endure no speech of other enterprise: neither were it fit, said he,

to set any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of Mr. Fawkes, whose company I wished over into England. I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him we should need such as he if occasion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart for Newport, and taking my leave of Sir William, Master Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. "This is the gentleman," said Sir William, "that you wished for," and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that if he pleased to come to Dunkirk, we would have further conference, whither I was then going; so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Mr. Fawkes to Dunkirk, where I told him, that we were upon a resolution to do something in England, if the peace with Spain helped us not, but had as yet resolved upon nothing; such, or the like talk we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a wind, and when it served came both in one passage to Greenwich, near which place we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and called on Mr. Catesby, whom we found in his lodging; he welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the Constable. I told him, good news, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of Easter term, and about the midst of the same term (whether sent for by Master Catesby, or upon some business of his own) up came Mr. Thomas Percy. The first word he spake after he came into our company was, "Shall we always, gentlemen, talk and never do anything?" Mr. Catesby took him aside, and spoke about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we

resolved within two or three days to do; so we therefore, met behind St. Clement's, Mr. Catesby Mr. Percy, Mr. Wright, Mr. Guy Fawkes, and myself; and having upon a primer given each other the oath of secrecy, in a chamber where no other body was, we went after into the next room and heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same. Then did Mr. Catesby disclose to Mr. Percy, and I, together with Jack Wright, tell to Mr. Fawkes the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And then was Mr. Percy sent to take the house, which Mr. Catesby in mine absence had learned did belong to one Ferris, which with some difficulty in the end he obtained, and became, as Ferris before was, tenant to Whynneard. Mr. Fawkes underwent the name of Mr. Percy's man, calling himself Johnson, because his face was the most unknown, and received the keys of the house, until we heard that the Parliament was adjourned to the seventh of February. At which time we all departed several ways into the country, to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas term. Before this time also it was thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Mr. Percy, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the Parliament, because we were loath to foil that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Mr. Catesby often lay, and to be keeper thereof (by Mr. Catesby's choice) we received into the number, Keyes, as a trusty honest man; this was about a month before Michaelmas.

Some fortnight after, towards the beginning of the term, Mr. Fawkes and I came to Mr. Catesby at Morecrofts, where we agreed, that it was now time to begin and set things in order for the mine. So Mr. Fawkes went down to

London, and the next day sent for me to come over to him; when I came, the cause was, that the Scottish Lords were appointed to sit in conference of the Union in Mr. Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Mr. Percy and Mr. Wright were come to London, and we against their coming had provided a good part of the powder; so we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, save only Mr. Percy's man, until Christmas eve. In which time we wrought under a little entry to the wall of the Parliament House, and under-propped it as we went with wood.

Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was, how we might surprise the next heir; the prince haply would be at the Parliament with the king his father, how should we then be able to seize on the duke? This burden Mr. Percy undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another gentleman, would enter the chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the Court Gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the duke's chamber) to carry him safe away; for he supposed most of the court would be absent, and such as were there not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. As to the Lady Elizabeth, it were easy to surprise her in the country, by drawing friends together at an hunting near the Lord Harrington's, and Ashby, Mr. Catesby's house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horses, which, if we could provide in any reasonable measure,

having the heir apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days, was odds sufficient.

Then what lords we should save from the Parliament, which was first agreed in general as many as we could that were Catholics, or so disposed; but after we descended to speak of particulars.

Next, what foreign princes we should acquaint with this before, or join with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath, so as to be secure of their promise; besides, we knew not whether they would approve the project, or dislike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspicion; and not to provide until the business were acted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might as well entreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in his preparations, to hope any good from in the first extremities, and France too near and too dangerous, who, with the shipping of Holland, we feared of all the world might make away with us.

But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the Parliament should be anew adjourned until after Michaelmas, upon which tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas we brought over in a boat the powder, which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Mr. Percy's house, because we were willing to have all our danger in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through; at which time we called in Kit Wright, and near to Easter, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder, and leave the mine.

Now, by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the

number of several houses, which for several uses had ben hired, and buying of powder, &c., had lain heavy on Mr. Catesby alone to support; it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave, that he, with Mr. Percy and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; for many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Master Fawkes laid into the cellar which he had newly taken, a thousand of billets and five hundred of faggots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Mr. Catesby wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send Mr. Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Mr. Owen with this matter. We agreed that he should, provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken before, *videlicet*, to keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired Sir William Stanley should be acquainted herewith, was to have him with us so soon as he could; and for Mr. Owen, he might hold good correspondence after with foreign princes. So Mr. Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned the latter end of August. He told me, that when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley was not returned from Spain, so he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him, that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any plot, as having business now afoot in the court of England; but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away so soon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. Percy and Mr.

Catesby meet at the Bath, where they agreed that the company being yet but few, Mr. Catesby should have the others' authority to call in whom he thought best; by which authority he called in afterwards Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and last of all Mr. Francis Tresham. The first promised, as I heard Master Catesby say, fifteen hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; Mr. Percy himself promised all that he could get of the Earl of Northumberland's rents, which was about four thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping horses, to the number of ten.

Meanwhile Mr. Fawkes and myself alone bought some new powder, as suspecting the first to be damp, and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of November, so we all went down, until some ten days before, when Mr. Catesby came up with Mr. Fawkes, to a house by Enfield Chace, called White-webbs, whither I came to them, and Mr. Catesby wished me to inquire whether the young prince came to the Parliament; I told him, that I heard that his grace thought not to be there. Then must we have our horses, said Mr. Catesby, beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprise the prince and leave the duke alone.

Two days after, being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had been given to my Lord Mounteagle to this effect, that he wished his lordship's absence from the Parliament, because a blow would there be given; which letter he presently carried to my Lord of Salisbury.

On the morrow I went to White-webbs, and told it to Mr. Catesby, assuring him withal, that the matter was disclosed, and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told

me, he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Mr. Fawkes to try the uttermost, protesting, if the part belonged to himself he would try the same adventure.

On Wednesday Mr. Fawkes went, and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to London, and Friday Mr. Catesby, Mr. Tresham, and I met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter should be sent to my Lord Mounteagle, but could not conceive, for Mr. Tresham forswore it, whom we only suspected.

On Saturday night I met Mr. Tresham again in Lincoln's Inn Walks, wherein he told such speeches that my Lord of Salisbury should use to the king, that I gave it for lost the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. Catesby, who hereupon was resolved to be gone, but staid to have Mr. Percy come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday Mr. Percy being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the uttermost trial.

This suspicion of all hands, put us into such confusion, that Mr. Catesby resolved to go down into the country the Monday that Mr. Percy went to Sion, and Mr. Percy resolved to follow the same night, or early the next morning. About five of the clock, being Tuesday, came the younger Wright to my chamber, and told me, that a nobleman, called the Lord Mounteagle, saying, "Arise, and come along to Essex House, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland," saying withal, the matter is discovered. "Go back, Mr. Wright," quoth I, "and learn what you can about Essex Gate." Shortly he returned and said, "Surely all is lost: for Lepton is got on horseback at Essex door, and as he parted, he asked if their lordships would have any more with him: and being answered no, is rode fast up Fleet Street as he can ride." "Go you then," quoth I, "to Mr.

Percy, for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost." Then I went to the court gates, and found them strictly guarded, so as nobody could enter. From thence I went down towards the Parliament House, and in the middle of King Street found the guard standing, that would not let me pass; and as I returned, I heard one say, "There is a treason discovered, in which the king and the lords should have been blown up." So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my gelding stood, and rode into the country. Mr. Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch, but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we took the armour at my Lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discover, my man came to me, and said, that a heavy mischance had severed all the company, for that Mr. Catesby, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant, were burned with gunpowder, upon which sight, the rest dispersed. Mr. Littleton wished me to fly, and so would he. I told him, I would first see the body of my friend, and bury him, whatsoever befel me. When I came, I found Mr. Catesby reasonably well, Mr. Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant. I asked them what they resolved to do: they answered, we mean here to die. I said again, I would take such part as they did. About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the court, I was shot in the shoulder, which lost me the use of mine arm: with the next shot was the elder Wright stricken dead, after him the younger Mr. Wright, and fourthly Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter)

"Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together."
 "Sir," quoth I, "I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken."
 So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot (as far as I could guess with one bullet), and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both mine arms.

And so I remain yours, &c.

Commissioners :—

NOTTINGHAM.
 SUFFOLK.
 WORCESTER.
 DEVONSHIRE.
 NORTHAMPTON.

SALISBURY.
 MARR.
 DUNBAR.
 POPHAM.

EDW. COKE.
 W. WAAD.

The names of those that were first in the treason,
 and laboured in the mine :—

ROBERT CATESBY,	}	Esquires.
ROBERT WINTER,		
THOMAS PERCY,	}	Gentlemen.
THOMAS WINTER,		
JOHN WRIGHT,		
CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT,		
GUIDO FAWKES,		
And BATES, Catesby's man.		

Those that were made acquainted with it, though
 not personally labouring in the mine nor in
 the cellar :—

EVERARD DIGBY, Knight.	}	Esquires.
AMBROSE ROOKWOOD,		
FRANCIS TRESHAM,		
JOHN GRANT, Gentleman.		
ROBERT KEYES.		

BUT here let us leave Fawkes in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience; and turn ourselves to that part of history which concerns the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday, the fifth of November, and the first day designed for that session of Parliament,—the news, I say, of this so strange and unlooked for accident, was no sooner divulged, but some of those conspirators, namely, Winter, and the two brothers of Wright's, thought it high time for them to hasten out of the town, for Catesby was gone the night before, and Percy at four of the clock in the morning the same day of the discovery, and all of them held their course with more haste than good speed to Warwickshire, toward Coventry, where the next day morning, being Wednesday, and about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Grant, a gentleman having associated unto him some others of his opinion, all violent Papists and strong Recusants, came to a stable of one Benock, a rider of great horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers noblemen and gentlemen of that country, who had put them into the rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company which fled out of London, as also Grant and his complices, met all together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, the Wednesday night after the discovery of this treacherous attempt; the which Digby had likewise for his part appointed a match of hunting to have been hunted the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was, Nimrod-like, upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent on the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

The taking of
the horses out
of the stable at
Warwick by
Grant and
others.

The hunting
match appointed
by Sir Everard
Digby.

This company and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered and their treachery prevented, did resolve to run a desperate course, and since they could not prevail by so private a blow, to practise by a public rebellion, either to attain to their intents, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrel of religion, having intercepted such provision of armour, horses, and powder, as the time could permit, thought, by running up and down the country, both to augment gradually their number (dreaming to themselves that they had the virtue of a snow-ball, which being little at the first, and tumbling down from a great hill groweth to a great quantity by increasing itself with the snow that it meeteth by the way), and also that they beginning first this brave show in one part of the country, should by their sympathy and example stir up and encourage the rest of their religion in other parts of England to rise, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourscore, and yet were they troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them; who, notwithstanding all their care, daily left them, being far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but far more in faith, or justness of quarrel.

Their going
into arms after
the plot discovered.

Their number
never above four
score.

And so after that this Catholic troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour, at the last, to be beaten by a king's lieutenant, or extraordinary commissioner sent down for the purpose, but only by the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire were they all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note this following circum-

Their flight.

stance so admirable, and so vividly displaying the greatness of God's justice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Although divers of the king's proclamations were posted down after these traitors, with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, the necessity to have Percy preserved alive, if it had been possible, and the assembly together of that rightly damned crew, now no more conspirators, but open and avowed rebels; yet the far distance of the way (which was above an hundred miles) together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his proclamations. For upon the third day after the flying down of these rebels, which was upon the Friday next after the discovery of their plot, they were most of them all surprised by the sheriff of Worcestershire at Holbeach, about the noon of the day, and that in manner following.

Overtaken at
Holbeach, in
Staffordshire, at
Stephen Little-
ton's house.

Grant, of whom I have made mention before for taking the great horses, who had not all the preceding time stirred from his own house till the next morning after the attempt should have been put in execution, then laying his account without his host (as the proverb is) that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped-for success; took, or rather stole out those horses (as I said before) to enable him, and so many of that soulless society that had still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the king's eldest daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, having her residence near by that place, whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous design (his majesty her father, her mother, and male children being all destroyed

Grant's at-
tempt to sur-
prise the Lady
Elizabeth.

above). And to this purpose also had that Nimrod Digby provided his hunting match against that same time, that numbers of people being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day, did seem to be so great a riot in the eyes of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery; and the bold attempting thereof, did engender such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and arm themselves, upon this unlooked for accident. Among whom, Sir Fulke Greville the elder, knight, as became one both so ancient in years, and good reputation, and by his office being deputy lieutenant of Warwickshire, though unable in his body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, did first apprehend this foresaid riot to be nothing but the sparkles and sure indices of a following rebellion; whereupon both stoutly and honestly he took order to get into his own hands, the munition and armour of all such gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their houses, or in doubtful guard; and also sent such direction to the towns about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of Winter by a poor smith, who had likewise been taken by those vulgar people, but that he was rescued by the rest of his company, who perceiving that the country before them had notice of them, hastened away with the loss in their own sight, sixteen of their followers being taken by the townsmen, and sent presently to the sheriff at Warwick, and from thence to London.

But before twelve or sixteen hours past, Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest, bringing then the assurance that their main plot was failed and bewrayed,

whereupon they had builded the golden mountains of their glorious hopes, took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a troop and wander, as they did, for the reasons afore-told. But as, upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their sovereign was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no further mystery than such public misbehaviours, as their own eyes taught them), as, notwithstanding the fair pretences of their Catholic cause, no creature, man or woman, through all the country, would once so much as give them willingly a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them; so, on the other part, the sheriffs of the shires, where through they wandered, convening their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilness of the way, and the unprovidedness of their people upon a sudden could permit them. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straightly been in chase of them to the confines of his county, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him; Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcester-shire, did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his shire, and having gotten information of their taking harbour at the house above named, he sent trumpeters and messengers to them, commanding them in the king's name to surrender unto him, his majesty's minister; and, knowing no more at that time of their guilt than was publicly visible, did promise, upon their dutiful and obedient surrendering unto him, to intercede at the king's hands for the sparing of their lives; who received only from them this scornful answer (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences), "That he had need of better assistance than of those few numbers that were

with him, before he could be able to command or control them."

But here fell the wondrous work of God's justice, that while this message passed between the sheriff and them, the sheriff's and his people's zeal being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault, and the other party making themselves ready within the house to perform their promise by a defence as resolute, it pleased God, that, in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small spark should fly out and light among less than two pound weight of powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; which being thereby blown up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others of them (blowing up with it also a great bag full of powder, which, notwithstanding, never took fire), as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby from any further resistance, that Catesby himself, Rookwood, Grant, and divers others of greatest account among them, were thereby made unable for defence; but also wonderfully stricken with amazement in their guilty consciences, calling to memory how God had justly punished them with that same instrument which they should have used for the effecting of so great a sin, according to the old Latin saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*, as they presently (see the wonderful power of God's justice upon guilty consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise; and thereafter giving over any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the sheriff's people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their own present destruction; the three specials of them joining backs together, Catesby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two with one shot,

The preparation to assault the house.

Catesby, who was the first inventor of this treason, in general, and of the manner of working the same by powder, in special, himself now first maimed with the blowing up of powder, and next he and Percy both killed with one shot proceeding from powder.

Catesby and Percy, were slain, and the third, Winter, taken and saved alive.

And thus those resolute and high aspiring Catholics, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of kings and kingdoms, and promised to themselves no lower estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miserably defeated, and quite overthrown in an instant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and so fulfilling that sentence which his majesty did in a manner prophecy of them, in his oration to the Parliament: some presently slain, others deadly wounded, stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold than of the danger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the gaol, the ordinary place even of the basest malefactors, where they remained till their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them, as the rarest sort of monsters,—fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity, in seeing the outward cases of so unheard of a villany; and generally all sorts of people, to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far detested: serving so for a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

What hereafter will be done with them, is to be left to the justice of his majesty and the state; which, as no good subject needs to doubt, will be performed in the own due time by a public and exemplary punishment, so have we all that are faithful and humble subjects, great cause to pray earnestly to the Almighty, that it will please him who hath the hearts of all

princes in his hands, to put it in his majesty's heart to make such a conclusion of this tragedy to the traitors, but tragi-comedy to the king and all his true subjects, as thereby the glory of God and his true religion may be advanced, the future security of the king and his estate procured and provided for, all hollow and dishonest hearts discovered and prevented, and this horrible attempt (lacking due epithets) to be so justly avenged, that where they thought by one catholic indeed, and universal blow, to accomplish the wish of that Roman tyrant, who wished all the bodies in Rome to have but one neck, and so by the violent force of powder to break up, as with a petard, our tripple-locked peaceful gates of Janus, which, God be thanked, they could not compass by any other means; they may justly be so recompensed for their truly viperous intended parricide, as the shame and infamy that otherwise would light upon this whole nation, for having unfortunately hatched such cockatrice' eggs, may be repaired by the execution of famous and honourable justice upon the offenders, and so the kingdom, purged of them, may hereafter perpetually flourish in peace and prosterity, by the happy conjunction of the hearts of all honest and true subjects with their just and religious sovereign.

And thus, whereas they thought to have effaced our memories, the memory of them shall remain (but to their perpetual infamy), and we, as I said in the beginning, shall, with all thankfulness, eternally preserve the memory of so great a benefit. To which let every good subject say, Amen.

As *Æneas Sylvius* doth notably write concerning the murder of King James I. of Scotland, and the following punishment of the traitors, whereof himself was an eye-witness.—*Hist. de Europa*, cap. 46.

The Brief of the Matters whereupon ROBERT WINTER, Esq., THOMAS WINTER, Gent., GUY FAWKES, Gent., JOHN GRANT, Esq., AMBROSE ROOKWOOD, Esq., ROBERT KEYES, Gent., and THOMAS BATES, were indicted, and whereupon they were arraigned.

The effect of the indictment after the legal form of the Common Law of England.

THAT whereas our Sovereign Lord the King had, by the advice and assent of his Council, for divers weighty and urgent occasions, concerning his Majesty, the State, and defence of the Church and kingdom of England, appointed a Parliament to be holden at his city of Westminster: That Henry Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits within the realm of England (called also by the several names of Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer, and Henry Philips), Oswald Tesmond, Jesuit (otherwise called Oswald Greenwel), John Gerrard, Jesuit (called also by the several names of Lee and Brook), Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Gentlemen, Guy Fawkes, Gent. (otherwise called Guy Johnson), Robert Keyes, Gent., and Thomas Bates, Yeoman, late servant to Robert Catesby, Esq., together with the said Robert Catesby and Thomas Percy, Esquires, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, Gent., in open rebellion and insurrection against his majesty, lately slain, and Francis Tresham, Esq., lately dead, as false traitors against our said Sovereign Lord the King, did traitorously meet and assemble themselves together; and being so met, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, did maliciously, falsely, and traitorously move and persuade, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, that our said Sovereign Lord the King, the nobility, clergy, and the

whole commonalty of the realm of England (Papists excepted), were heretics, and that all heretics were accursed and excommunicate; and that no heretic could be a king, but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill our said Sovereign Lord the King, and all other heretics within this realm of England, for the advancing and enlargement of the pretended and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and for the restoring of the superstitious Romish religion within this realm of England. To which traitorous persuasions the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously did yield their assents: and that thereupon the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, and divers other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; as also the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously among themselves did conclude and agree, with gunpowder, as it were with one blast, suddenly, traitorously, and barbarously, to blow up and tear in pieces our said Sovereign Lord the King; the excellent, virtuous, and gracious Queen Anne, his dearest wife; the most noble Prince Henry, their eldest son, the future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal; the reverend judges of the realm; the knights, citizens, and burgesses of Parliament, and divers other faithful subjects and servants of the king in the said Parliament, for the causes aforesaid, to be assembled in the House of Parliament; and all of them, without any respect of majesty, dignity, degree, sex, age, or place, most barbarously, and more than beastly, traitorously, and suddenly to destroy and swallow up. And further did most traitorously conspire and conclude among themselves, that not only the whole royal issue male of our said Sovereign

Lord the King should be destroyed and rooted out, but that the persons aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, traitorously with them to be assembled, should surprise the persons of the noble Ladies Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and falsely and traitorously should proclaim the said Lady Elizabeth to be the Queen of this realm of England; and thereupon should publish a certain traitorous proclamation in the name of the said Lady Elizabeth, wherein it was especially agreed by and between the said conspirators, that no mention should be made at the first of the alteration of religion established within this realm of England; neither would the said false traitors therein acknowledge themselves to be authors, or actors, or devisors of the foresaid most wicked and horrible treasons, until they had got sufficient power and strength for the assured execution and accomplishment of their said conspiracy and treason; and that then they would avow and justify the said most wicked and horrible treasons, as actions that were in the number of those, *Quæ non laudantur nisi peracta*, which be not to be commended before they be done. But, by the said feigned and traitorous proclamation they would publish, that all and singular abuses and grievances within this realm of England should, for satisfying of the people, be reformed. And that as well for the better concealing, as for the more effectual accomplishing of the said horrible treasons, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, by the traitorous advice and procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, traitorously did further conclude and agree, that as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Tho-

mas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, thereupon severally and traitorously should receive several corporal oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, and the sacrament of the eucharist, that they the treasons aforesaid would traitorously conceal and keep secret, and would not reveal them directly nor indirectly, by words nor circumstances; nor ever would desist from the execution and final accomplishment of the said treasons, without the consent of some three of the foresaid false traitors first in that behalf traitorously had. And that thereupon, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, did traitorously take the said several corporal oaths severally, and did receive the sacrament of the eucharist aforesaid by the hands of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits. And further, that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, by the like traitorous advice and counsel of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits, for the more effectual compassing and final execution of the said treasons, did traitorously amongst themselves conclude and agree to dig a certain mine under the said House of Parliament, and there secretly under the said House to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder; and that, according to the said traitorous conclusion, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, afterwards secretly, not without great labour and difficulty, did dig and make the said mine unto the midst of the foundation of the

wall of the said House of Parliament, the said foundation being of the thickness of three yards, with a traitorous intent to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder in the mine aforesaid, so as aforesaid traitorously to be made for the traitorous accomplishing of their traitorous purposes aforesaid, and that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, finding and perceiving the said work to be of great difficulty by reason of the hardness and thickness of the said wall, and understanding a certain cellar under the said House of Parliament, and adjoining to a certain house of the said Thomas Percy then to be letten to farm for a yearly rent, the said Thomas Percy, by the traitorous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as of the said Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously did hire the cellar aforesaid for a certain yearly rent and term; and then those traitors did remove twenty barrells full of gunpowder out of the said house of the said Thomas Percy, and secretly and traitorously did bestow and place them in the cellar aforesaid under the said House of Parliament, for the traitorous effecting of the treason, and traitorous purposes aforesaid. And that afterwards the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously did meet with Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, Esquires, and traitorously did impart to the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, the treasons,

traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid ; and did require the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, to join themselves, as well with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, and in the treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid ; and traitorously to provide horse, armour, and other necessities, for the better accomplishment and effecting of the said treasons. To which traitorous motion and request, the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, did traitorously yield their assents, and as well with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, in the said treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid, traitorously did adhere and unite themselves ; and thereupon several corporal oaths in form above said traitorously did take, and the sacrament of the eucharist by the hand of the said Jesuits did receive, to such intent and purpose as is aforesaid : and horses, armour, and other necessities, for the better effecting of the said treasons, according to their traitorous assents aforesaid, traitorously did provide ; and that afterwards all the said false traitors did traitorously provide and bring into the cellar aforesaid ten other barrels full of gunpowder newly bought, fearing lest the former gunpowder so as aforesaid bestowed and placed there was become dankish, and the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, with billets and faggots, lest they should be spied, secretly and traitorously did cover ; and that afterwards the said traitors

traitorously provided and brought into the cellar aforesaid four hogsheads full of gunpowder, and laid divers great iron bars and stones upon the said four hogsheads, and the foresaid other quantities of gunpowder; and the said quantities of gunpowder, bars and stones, with billets and faggots, lest they should be espied, secretly and traitorously did likewise cover; and that the said Guy Fawkes afterwards, for a full and final accomplishment of the said treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid, by the traitorous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as of the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously had prepared, and had upon his person touchwood and match, therewith traitorously to give fire to the several barrels, hogsheads, and quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, at the time appointed for the execution of the said horrible treasons; and further, that after the said horrible treasons were by the great favour and mercy of God in a wonderful manner discovered, not many hours before it should have been executed, as well the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously did flee and withdraw themselves, to the intent traitorously to stir up and procure such Popish persons as they could, to join with them in actual, public, and open rebellion, against our said Sovereign Lord the King, and to that end did publish divers feigned and false rumours, that the Papists' throats should have been cut; and that thereupon divers Pa-

pists were in arms, and in open, public, and actual rebellion against our said Sovereign Lord the King, in divers parts of this realm of England.

To this indictment they all pleaded "Not Guilty," and put themselves upon God and the country.

Then did Sir EDWARD PHILIPS, Knight, his Majesty's Serjeant-at-Law, open the indictment to this effect as followeth:—

THE matter that is now to be offered to you, my lords the commissioners, and to the trial of you the knights and gentlemen of the jury, is matter of treason; but of such horror, and monstrous nature, that before now

The tongue of man never delivered,
The ear of man never heard,
The heart of man never conceited,
Nor the malice of hellish or earthly devil
ever practised.

For if it be abominable to murder the least;
If to touch God's anointed be to oppose themselves against God;

If (by blood) to subvert princes, states, and kingdoms, be hateful to God and man, as all true Christians must acknowledge;

Then how much more than too monstrous shall all Christian hearts judge the horror of this treason, to murder and subvert

Such a king,
Such a queen,
Such a prince,
Such a progeny,
Such a state,
Such a government,

So complete and absolute;

That God approves:

The world admires:

All true English hearts honour and reverence:

The Pope and his disciples only envy and malign.

The proceeding wherein is properly to be divided into three general heads.

1. First, matter of declaration.
2. Secondly, matter of aggravation.
3. Thirdly, matter of probation.

Myself am limited to deal only with the matter of declaration, and that is contained within the compass of the indictment only.

For the other two, I am to leave to him to whose place it belongeth.

The substance of which declaration consisteth in four parts.

1. First, in the persons and qualities of the conspirators.
2. Secondly, in the matter composed.
3. Thirdly, in the mean and manner of the proceeding and execution of the conspiracy.
4. And fourthly, of the end and purpose why it was so conspired.

As concerning the first, being the persons—

They were { GARNET,
GERRARD,
TESMOND, } Jesuits not then taken.

THOMAS WINTER,
GUY FAWKES,
ROBERT KEYES,
THOMAS BATES,
EVERARD DIGBY,
AMBROSE ROOKWOOD,
JOHN GRANT,
ROBERT WINTER, } At the bar.

ROBERT CATESBY,
THOMAS PERCY,
JOHN WRIGHT,
CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT, } Slain in rebellion.

FRANCIS TRESHAM, Lately dead.

All grounded Romanists, and corrupted scholars
of so irreligious and traitorous a school.

*As concerning the second, which is the matter
conspired, it was—*

1. First, to deprive the king of his crown.
2. Secondly, to murder the king, the queen,
and the prince.
3. Thirdly, to stir rebellion and sedition in the
kingdom.
4. Fourthly, to bring a miserable destruction
among the subjects.
5. Fifthly, to change, alter, and subvert the
religion here established.
6. Sixthly, to ruin the state of the common-
wealth, and to bring in strangers to in-
vade it.

*As concerning the third, which is the mean and
manner how to compass and execute the same,*

They did all conclude,

1. First, that the king and his people (the
Papists excepted) were heretics.
2. Secondly, that they were all cursed and ex-
communicate by the Pope.
3. Thirdly, that no heretic could be king.
4. Fourthly, that it was lawful and meritorious
to kill and destroy the king, and all the
said heretics.

The mean to effect it they concluded to be,

That

1. The king, the queen, the prince, the lords
spiritual and temporal, the knights and
burgesses of the parliament, should be
blown up with powder.
2. That the whole royal issue male should be
destroyed.
3. That they would take into their custody Eli-

zabeth and Mary, the king's daughters, and proclaim the Lady Elizabeth queen.

4. That they should feign a proclamation in the name of Elizabeth, in which no mention should be made of alteration of religion, nor that they were parties to the treason, until they had raised power to perform the same, and then to proclaim all grievances in the kingdom should be reformed.

That they also took several oaths, and received the sacrament,—first, for secresy; secondly, for prosecution, except they were discharged thereof by three of them.

That after the destruction of the king, the queen, the prince, the royal issue male, the lords spiritual and temporal, the knights and burgesses, they should notify the same to foreign states; and thereupon Sir Edmund Baynam, an attainted person of treason, and styling himself prime of the damned crew, should be sent, and make the same known to the Pope, and crave his aid—an ambassador fit, both for the message and persons, to be sent betwixt the Pope and the devil.

That the parliament being prorogued till the 7th of February, they in December made a mine under the House of Parliament, purposing to place their powder there; but the Parliament being then further adjourned till the 3rd of October, they in Lent following hired the vault, and placed therein twenty barrels of powder.

That they took to them Robert Winter, Grant, and Rookwood, giving them the oaths and sacrament as aforesaid, as to provide munition.

20th July they laid in ten barrels more of powder, laying upon them divers great bars of iron and pieces of timber, and great massive stones, and covered the same with faggots, &c.

20th September they laid in four hogsheds more of powder, with other stones and bars of iron thereupon.

4th November (the Parliament being prorogued to the 5th) at eleven o'clock at night, Fawkes had prepared (by the procurement of the rest) touchwood and match, to give fire to the powder the next day.

That the treason being miraculously discovered, they put themselves, and procured others to enter, into open rebellion; and gave out most untruly it was for that the Papists' throats were to be cut.

The effect of that which SIR EDWARD COKE, Knight, his majesty's Attorney-general, said at the former arraignment, so near to his own words as it could be taken.

It appeareth to your lordships, and the rest of this most honourable and grave assembly, even by that which Mr. Sergeant hath already opened, that these are the greatest treasons that ever were plotted in England, and concern the greatest king that ever was of England. But when this assembly shall further hear and see discovered the roots and branches of the same, not hitherto published, they will say indeed—*Quis hæc posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta esse videantur?* That when these things shall be related to posterity, they will be reputed matters feigned, not done. And therefore, in this so great a cause, upon the carriage and event whereof the eye of all Christendom is at this day bent, I shall desire that I may, with your patience, be somewhat more copious, and not so succinct as my usual manner hath been, and yet will I be no longer than the very matter itself shall necessarily require. But before I enter into the particular narration of this cause, I hold it fit to give satisfaction to

some, and those well affected amongst us, who have not only marvelled, but grieved, that no speedier expedition hath been used in these proceedings, considering the monstrousness and continual horror of this so desperate a cause.

1. It is *ordo naturæ*, agreeable to the order of nature, that things of great weight and magnitude should slowly proceed, according to that of the poet, *Tarda solet magnis rebus adesse fides*. And surely of these things we may truly say, *Nunquam ante dies nostros talia acciderunt*, neither hath the eye of man seen, nor the ear of man heard, the like things to these.

2. *Veritas temporis filia*, Truth is the daughter of Time, especially in this case; wherein, by timely and often examinations, first, matters of greatest moment have been lately found out. Secondly, some known offenders, and those capital, but lately apprehended. Thirdly, sundry of the principal and arch-traitors, before unknown, now manifested as the Jesuits. Fourthly, heretical, treasonable, and damnable books, lately found out, one of equivocation, and another *De officio principis Christiani*, of Francis Tresham's.

3. There have been already twenty and three several days spent in examinations.

4. We should otherwise have hanged a man unattainted; for Guy Fawkes for a time passed under the name of John Johnson. So that, if by that name greater expedition had been made, and he hanged, though we had not missed of the man, yet the proceeding would not have been so orderly or justifiable.

5. The king, out of his wisdom and great moderation, was pleased to appoint this trial in time of assembly in Parliament, for that it concerned especially those of the Parliament.

Now, touching the offences themselves, they are so exorbitant and transcendant, and aggregated of so many bloody and fearful crimes, as

they cannot be aggravated by any inference, argument, or circumstance whatsoever, and that in three respects:—First, because this offence is *primæ impressionis*, and therefore *sine nomine*, without any name which might be *adequatum*, sufficient to express it, given by any legislator, that ever made or writ of any laws. For the highest treason that all they could imagine, they called it only *crimen læsæ majestatis*, the violating of the majesty of the prince. But this treason doth want an apt name, as tending not only to the hurt, but to the death of the king; and not the death of the king only, but of his whole kingdom, *Non regis, sed regni*, that is, to the dissolution of the frame and fabric of the ancient, famous, and ever-flourishing monarchy, even the deletion of our whole name and nation. “And therefore, hold not thy tongue, O God; keep not still silence; refrain not thyself, O God: for lo thine enemies make a murmuring, and they that hate thee have lift up their heads. They have said, Come, and let us root them out, that they be no more a people, and that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.”—Psalm lxxxiii. 1-5. Secondly, it is *sine exemplo*, beyond all examples, whether in fact or fiction, even of the tragic poets, who did beat their wits to represent the most fearful and horrible murders. Thirdly, it is *sine modo*, without all measure or stint of iniquity, like a mathematical line, which is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*, infinitely divisible. It is treason to imagine or intend the death of the king, queen, or prince.

For treason is like a tree, whose root is full of poison, and lieth secret and hid within the earth, resembling the imagination of the heart of man, which is so secret as God only knoweth it. Now, the wisdom of the law provideth for the blasting and nipping both of the leaves, blossoms, and buds which proceed from this root of treason, either by words which are like

to leaves, or by some overt act, which may be resembled to buds or blossoms, before it cometh to such fruit and ripeness as would bring utter destruction and desolation upon the whole state.

It is likewise treason to kill the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, or any justice of the one bench or other, justices of assize, or any other judge mentioned in the statute of 25 Edw. III., sitting in their judicial places, and exercising their offices. And the reason is, for that every judge so sitting by the king's authority, representeth the majesty and person of the king, and therefore it is *crimen læsæ majestatis* to kill him—the king being always, in judgment of law, present in court, But in the high court of Parliament, every man, by virtue of the king's authority, by writ, under the great seal, hath a judicial place; and so, consequently, the killing of every of them had been a several treason, and *crimen læsæ majestatis*. Besides, that to their treasons were added open rebellion, burglary, robbery, horse-stealing, &c.; so that this offence is such as no man can express it, no example pattern it, no measure contain it.

Concerning foreign princes, there was here a protestation made for the clearing of them from all imputation or aspersion whatsoever. First, for that whilst kingdoms stood in hostility, hostile actions are holden honourable and just. Secondly, it is not the king's sergeant, attorney, or solicitor, that in any sort touch or mention them; for we know that great princes and personages are reverently and respectfully to be spoken of, and that there is *lex in sermone tenenda*. But it is Fawkes, Winter, and the rest of the offenders, that have confessed so much as hath been said; and, therefore, the king's council learned doth but repeat the offenders' confession, and charge or touch no other person. They have also slandered unjustly our great master King James, which we only repeat to

show the wickedness and malice of the offenders. Thirdly, so much as is said concerning foreign princes is so woven into the matter of the charge of these offenders, as it cannot be severed or singled from the rest of the matter; so as it is inevitable, and cannot be pretermitted.

Now, as this Powder Treason is in itself prodigious and unnatural, so is it in the conception and birth most monstrous, as arising out of the dead ashes of former treasons. For it had three roots, all planted and watered by Jesuits and English Roman Catholics. The first root in England, in December and March; the second in Flanders, in June; the third in Spain, in July. In England it had two branches; one in December was twelve months before the death of the late queen, of blessed memory; another in March, wherein she died.

First, in December, *anno dom.* 1601, do Henry Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits in England, Robert Tesmond, Jesuit, Robert Catesby, who was (*homo subacto et versuto ingenio, et profunda perfidia*) together with Francis Tresham, and others, in the names, and for the behalf, of all the English Roman Catholics, employ Thomas Winter into Spain, as for the general good of the Roman Catholic cause; and by him doth Garnet write his letters to Father Creswel, a Jesuit, residing in Spain, in that behalf. With Thomas Winter doth Tesmond, *alias* Greenway, the Jesuit, go, as an associate and confederate, in that conspiracy. The message (which was principally committed unto the said Winter) was, that he should make a proposition and request to the King of Spain, in the behalf and names of the English Catholics, that the king would send an army hither into England, and that the forces of the Catholics in England should be prepared to join with him, and do him service. And further, that he should move the King of Spain to bestow some pen-

sions here in England, upon sundry persons, Catholics, and devoted to his service; and, moreover, to give advertisement, that the said King of Spain, making use of the general discontentment that young gentlemen and soldiers were in, might, no doubt, by relieving their necessities, have them all at his devotion.

And because that, in all attempts upon England, the greatest difficulty was ever found to be the transportation of horses, the Catholics in England would assure the King of Spain to have always in readiness for his use and service 1,500 or 2,000 horses, against any occasion or enterprise. Now, Thomas Winter, undertaking this negotiation, and with Tesmond, the Jesuit, coming into Spain, by means of Father Creswel, the Legier Jesuit there, as hath been said, had readily speech with Don Pedro Francesa, second secretary of state, to whom he imparted his message, as also to the Duke of Lerma, who assured him that it would be an office very grateful to his master, and that it should not want his best furtherance.

Concerning the place for landing of the King of Spain's army, which from the English Romish Catholics he desired might be sent to invade the land, it was resolved, that if the army were great, that Essex and Kent were judged fittest. (Where, note by the way, who was then Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.) If the army were small, and trusted upon succour in England, then Milford Haven was thought more convenient.

Now, there being at that time hostility betwixt both kingdoms, the King of Spain willingly embraced the motion, saying, that he took the message from the Catholics very kindly, and that in all things he would respect them with as great care as his proper Castilians. But for his further answer, and full dispatch, Thomas Winter was appointed to attend the progress.

In the end whereof, being in summer time, Count Miranda gave him this answer in the behalf of his master, that the king would bestow a hundred thousand crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next spring following. And withal required, that we should be as good as our promise; for the next spring he meant to be with us, and set foot in England. And lastly, he desired on the king's behalf of Winter, that he might have certain advertisement and intelligence, if so it should in the mean time happen that the queen did die. Thomas Winter, laden with these hopes, returns into England about a month before Christmas, and delivered answer of all that had passed to Henry Garnet, Robert Catesby, and Francis Tresham. But soon after set that glorious light, her majesty died. *Mira cano; sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.*

Presently after whose death was Christopher Wright, another messenger, sent over into Spain by Garnet (who likewise did write by him to Creswel for the furtherance of the negotiation), Catesby, and Tresham, in the name and behalf of all the Romish Catholics in England, as well to carry news of her majesty's death, as also to continue the aforesaid negotiation for an invasion and pensions, which, by Thomas Winter, had before been dealt in. And in the Spanish court, about two months after his arrival there, doth Christopher Wright meet with Guy Fawkes, who upon the two and twentieth of June was employed out of Flanders from Brussels, by Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen (whose finger had been in every treason which hath been of late years detected), and Baldwin, the Legier Jesuit in Flanders; from whom likewise the said Fawkes carried letters to Creswel, in Spain, for the countenancing and furtherance of his affairs.

Now, the end of Fawkes's employment was,

to give advertisement to the King of Spain, how the King of England was like to proceed rigorously with the Catholics, and to run the same course which the late queen did; and withal to entreat that it would please him to send an army into England to Milford Haven, where the Romish Catholics would be ready to assist him, and then the forces that should be transported in Spinola's gallies, should be landed where they could most conveniently. And these their several messages did Christopher Wright and Guy Fawkes in the end intimate and propound to the King of Spain. But the king as then very honourably answered them both, that he would not in any wise further listen to any such motion, as having before dispatched an ambassage into England to treat concerning peace; therefore this course by foreign forces failing, they fell to the Powder Plot, Catesby and Tresham being in at all, in the treason of the Earl of Essex, in the treason of Watson and Clarke, seminary priests, and also in this of the Jesuits, such a greedy appetite had they to practice against the state.

The rest of that which Mr. Attorney then spake continually, was by himself divided into three general parts. The first containing certain considerations concerning this treason. The second, observations about the same. The third, a comparison of this treason of the Jesuits, with that of the seminary priests, and that other of Rawley and others. For the considerations concerning the Powder Treason, they were in number eight: that is to say, 1. the persons by whom, 2. the persons against whom, 3. the time when, 4. the place where, 5. the means, 6. the end, 7. the secret contriving, and, lastly, the admirable discovery thereof.

1. For the persons offending, or by whom, they are of two sorts: either of the clergy, or laity, and for each of them there is a several

objection made. Touching those of the laity, it is by some given out, that they are such men as admit just exception, either desperate in estate or base, or not settled in their wits, such as are *sine religione, sine sede, sine fide, sine re, et sine spe*, without religion, without habitation, without credit, without means, without hope; but, that no man, though never so wicked, may be wronged, true it is they were gentlemen of good houses, of excellent parts, however most perniciously seduced, abused, corrupted, and Jesuited, of very competent fortunes and states; besides that Percy was of the house of Northumberland, Sir William Stanley, who principally employed Fawkes into Spain, and John Talbot of Grafton, who at the least is in case of misprision for high treason, both of great and honourable families. Concerning those of the spirituality, it is likewise falsely said, that there is never a religious man in this action. For I never yet knew a treason without a Romish priest; but in this there are very many Jesuits, who are known to have dealt, and passed through the whole action: three of them are Legiers and Statesmen, as Henry Garnet, alias Walley, the Superior of the Jesuits, Legier here in England, Father Creswel, Legier Jesuit in Spain, Father Baldwin, Legier in Flanders, as Parsons at Rome, besides their cursory men, as Gerrard Oswald Tesmonda, alias Greenway, Hammond, Hall, and other Jesuits; so that the principal offenders are the seducing Jesuits, men that use the reverence of religion, yea even the most sacred and blessed name of Jesus, as a mantle to cover their impiety, blasphemy, treason, and rebellion, and all manner of wickedness, as by the help of Christ shall be made most apparent to the glory of God, and the honour of our religion. Concerning this sect; their studies and practices principally consist in two degrees, to wit, in deposing of kings, and disposing of king-

doms; their profession and doctrine is a religion of distinctions, the greatest part of them being without the text, and therefore in very deed idle and vain conceits of their own brains, not not having *membra dividenda*, that is all the parts of the division warranted by the word of God, and *ubi lex non distinguit, nec nos distinguere debemus*. And albeit that princes hold their crowns immediately of and from God, by right of lawful succession and inheritance inherent by royal blood, yet think these Jesuits with a goose quill, within four distinctions to remove the crown from the head of any king christened, and to deal with them as the old Romans are said to have done with their viceroys, or petty kings, who in effect were but lieutenants unto them, to crown and uncrown them at their pleasures. Neither so only, but they will proscribe and expose them to be butchered by vassals, which is against their own canons, for priests to meddle in cause of blood. And by this means they would make the condition of a king far worse than that of the poorest creature that breathed. First, saith Simanca, “*Hæretici omnes ipso jure sunt excommunicati, et à communione fidelium diris proscriptionibus separati, et quotannis in cœna Domini excommunicantur à Papa:*” so then every heretic stands and is reputed with them as excommunicated and accursed, if not *de facto* yet *de jure*, in law and right to all their intents and purposes, therefore may he be deposed, proscribed, and murdered. I but suppose he be not a professed heretic, but dealeth reservedly and keepeth his conscience to himself, how stands he then? Simanca answers, “*Quæri autem solet, An hæreticus occultus excommunicatus sit ipso jure et in alias etiam pœnas incidat contra hæreticos statutas? Cui quæstioni simpliciter jurisperiti respondent, quòd etsi hæresis occulta sit, nihilominus occultus hæreticus incidit in illas pœnas.*” Whether he be a known or a

De Excom., tit.
27, sec. 1, fol.
116 b.

De Occultis, tit.
42, sec. 2, fol.
193.

secret heretic all is one, they thunder out the same judgment and curse for both: whereas Christ saith, *Nolite judicare*, judge not, which is, saith Augustine, *Nolite judicare de occultis*, of those things which are secret. But suppose that a prince thus accursed and deposed, will afterwards return and conform himself to their Romish Church, shall he then be restored to his state, and again received in his kingdom? Nothing less: for, saith Simanca, “Si reges aut alii principes Christiani facti sint hæretici, protinus subiecti et vasalli ab eorum dominio liberantur. Nec jus hoc recuperabunt, quamvis postea reconcilientur ecclesiæ.” Oh, but *sancta mater Ecclesia nunquam claudit gremium redeunti*, our holy mother the church never shuts her bosom to any convert. It is true, say they, but with a distinction, *quoad animam*; therefore so he may, and shall be restored, that is, spiritually, in respect of his soul’s health. *Quoad animam*, he shall again be taken into the holy church, but not *quoad regnum*, in respect of his kingdom or state temporal he must not be restored. The reason is, because all hold only thus far, *modo non sit ad damnum ecclesiæ*; so that the church receive thereby no detriment. I but suppose that such an unhappy deposed prince have a son, or lawful and right heir, and he also not to be touched or spotted with his father’s crime, shall not he at the least succeed and be invested into that princely estate? Neither will this down with them: heresy is a leprosy, an hereditary disease. *Et ex leprosis parentibus leprosi generantur filii*. Of leprous parents come leprous children. So that, saith Simanca, “Propter hæresim regis, non solum rex regno privatur, sed et ejus filii à regni successione pelluntur, ut noster lupus (who is indeed *vir secundum nomen ejus*, a wolf as well in nature as name), *luculenter probat*.” Now if any man doubt whom they here mean by an heretic,

Creswel, in his book called *Philopater*, gives a plain resolution,—“*Regnandi jus amittit,*” saith he, “*qui religionem Romanam deserit,*”—he is the heretic we speak of; even whosoever forsakes the religion of the Church of Rome, he is accursed, deprived, proscribed, never to be absolved but by the Pope himself, never to be restored either in himself or his posterity.

One place amongst many out of Creswel's *Philopater* shall serve to give a taste of the Jesuitical spirits and doctrine, which is sect. 2, page 109,—“*Hinc etiam infert universa theologorum ac jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum schola (et est certum et de fide), quemcunque principem Christianum, si à religione Catholica manifesto diflexerit, et alios avocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsa vi juris tum humani tum divini, hoc que ante dictam sententiam supremi pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam, et subditos quoscunque; liberos esse ab omni juramenti obligatione, quod de obedientia tanquam principi legitimo præstitissent: posseque et debere (si vires habeant) istius modi hominem tanquam apostatam, hereticum, ac Christi Domini desertorem, et reipub. suæ inimicum hostemque; ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere, nè alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo aut imperio à fide avertat; atque hæc certo, definita et indubitata virorum doctissimorum sententia.*” That is, this inference also doth the whole school both of divines and lawyers make, and it is a position certain, and to be undoubtedly believed, that if any Christian prince whatsoever, shall manifestly turn from the Catholic religion, and desire or seek to reclaim other men from the same, he presently falleth from all princely power and dignity, and that also by virtue and force of the law itself, both Divine and human, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme pastor and judge. And that his subjects, of what

estate or condition soever, are freed from all bond of oath of allegiance, which at any time they had made unto him, as to their lawful prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (provided they have competent strength and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule amongst Christians, as an apostate, an heretic, a backslider and revolter from our Lord Christ, and an enemy to his own state and commonwealth, lest perhaps he might infect others, or by his example or command turn them from the faith. And this is the certain, resolute, and undoubted judgment of the best learned men. But Tresham, in his book *De Officio Principis Christiani*, goeth beyond all the rest; for he plainly concludeth and determineth, that if any prince shall but favour, or show countenance to an heretic, he presently loseth his kingdom. In his fifth chapter he propoundeth this problem, "An aliqua possit secundum conscientiam subditis esse ratio, cur legitimo suo regi, bellum sine scelere moveant?" Whether there may be any lawful cause, justifiable in conscience, for subjects to take arms, without sin, against their lawful prince and sovereign? The resolution is, "Si princeps hæreticus sit, et obstinatè ac pertinaciter intolerabilis, summi pastoris divina potestate deponatur, et aliud caput constitutatur, cui subditi se jungant, et legitimo ordine et autoritate tyrannidem amoveant. Princeps indulgendo hæreticos non solùm Deum offendit, sed perdit et regnum, et gentem." Their conclusion therefore is; that for heresy, as above is understood, a prince is to be deposed, and his kingdom bestowed by the Pope at pleasure; and that the people, upon pain of damnation, are to take part with him whom the Pope shall so constitute over them. And thus whilst they imagine with the wings of their light-feathered distinctions to mount above the clouds and level of vulgar conceits, they desperately fall into a sea of gross absurdities, blas-

phemy, and impiety. And surely the Jesuits were so far engaged in this treason, as that some of them stick not to say, that if it should miscarry, that they were utterly undone, and that it would overthrow the state of the whole society of the Jesuits; and I pray God that in this they may prove true prophets, that they may become like the order of *templarii*, so called, for that they kept near the sepulchre at Jerusalem, who were by a general and universal edict in one day throughout Christendom quite extinguished, as being *ordo impietatis*, an order of impiety. "And so, from all sedition and privy conspiracy; from all false doctrine and heresy; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us." Their protestations and pretences are to win souls to God, their proofs weak, light, and of no value; their conclusions false, damnable, and damned heresies: the first mentioneth God, the second savoureth of weak and frail man, the last of the devil, and their practise easily appeareth out of the dealing of their holy father.

Henry III. of France, for killing a cardinal, was excommunicated, and afterward murdered by James Clement, a monk: that fact doth Sixtus Quintus, then Pope, instead of orderly censuring thereof, not only approve, but commend in a long consistory oration. That a monk, a religious man, saith he, hath slain the unhappy French king in the midst of his host it is *rarum, insigne, memorabile facinus*—a rare, a notable, and a memorable act; yea further, it is *facinus non sine Dei optimi maximi particulari providentia et dispositione, &c.*—a fact done not without the special providence and appointment of our good God, and the suggestion and assistance of his Holy Spirit; yea, a far greater work than was the slaying of Holofernes by holy Judith.

Verus Monachus fictum occiderat. a true

monk had killed the false monk, for that, as was reported, Henry III. sometimes would use that habit when he went in procession. And for France, even that part thereof which entertaineth the Popish religion, yet never could of ancient time brook this usurped authority of the See of Rome : namely, that the Pope had power to excommunicate kings, and absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance. Which position is so directly opposite to all the canons of the Church of France, and to all the decrees of the king's Parliament there, as that the very body of Sorbonne, and the whole University of Paris condemned it as a most schismatical, pestilent, and pernicious doctrine of the Jesuits, as may appear in a treatise made to the French king, and set out 1602, entitled, *Le Franc Discours*. But to return to the Jesuits, Catesby was resolved by the Jesuits, that the fact was both lawful and meritorious, and herewith he persuaded and settled the rest, as any seemed to make doubt.

Concerning Thomas Bates, who was Catesby's man, as he was wound into this treason by his master, so was he resolved, when he doubted of the lawfulness thereof, by the doctrine of the Jesuits. For the manner, it was after this sort. Catesby noting that his man observed him extraordinarily, as suspecting somewhat of that which he the said Catesby went about, called him to him at his lodging in Puddle Wharf, and, in the presence of Thomas Winter, asked him what he thought the business was they went about, for that he of late had so suspiciously and strangely marked them. Bates answered that he thought they went about some dangerous matter, whatever the particulars were. Whereupon they asked him again what he thought the business might be? And he answered, that he thought they intended some dangerous matter about the Parliament House, because he had

been sent to get a lodging near unto that place. Then did they make the said Bates take an oath to be secret in the action, which being taken by him, they then told him that it was true that they were to execute a great matter; namely, to lay powder under the Parliament House to blow it up. Then they also told him that he was to receive the sacrament for the more assurance, and thereupon he went to confession to the said Tesmond, the Jesuit; and in his confession told him that he was to conceal a very dangerous piece of work that his master Catesby and Thomas Winter had imparted unto him, and said he much feared the matter to be utterly unlawful, and therefore therein desired the counsel of the Jesuit, and revealed unto him the whole intent and purpose of blowing up the Parliament House upon the first day of the assembly, at which time the king, the queen, the prince, the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, should all have been there convened and met together. But the Jesuit, being a confederate therein before, resolved and encouraged him in the action, and said that he should be secret in that which his master had imparted unto him, for that it was for a good cause; adding, moreover, that it was not dangerous unto him, nor any offence to conceal it. And thereupon the Jesuit gave him absolution, and Bates received the sacrament of him in the company of his master, Robert Catesby, and Thomas Winter. Also, when Rookwood, in the presence of sundry of the traitors, having first received the oath of secrecy, had, by Catesby, imparted unto him the plot of the blowing up of the king and state; the said Rookwood, being greatly amazed thereat, answered, that it was a matter of conscience to take away so much blood. But Catesby replied, that he was resolved, and that by good authority, as coming from the Superior

of the Jesuits, that in conscience it might be done, yea, though it were with the destruction of many innocents, rather than the action should quail. Likewise Father Hammond absolved all the traitors at Robert Winter's house, upon Thursday, after the discovery of the plot, they being then in open rebellion; and, therefore, *Hos, O Rex, magne caveto*, and let all kings take heed how they either favour, or give allowance, or connivance unto them.

2. The second consideration respecteth the persons against whom this treason was intended, which are—1. The king, who is God's anointed; nay, it hath pleased God to communicate unto him his own name, *dixi dii estis*, not substantially or essentially so; neither yet on the other side *usurpativè*, by unjust usurpation, as the devil and the Pope; but *potestativè*, as having his power derived from God within his territories. 2. Their natural liege lord and dread sovereign, whose just interest and title to his crown may be drawn from before the Conquest; and if he were not a king by descent, yet deserved he to be made one for his rare and excellent endowments, and ornaments both of body and mind. Look into his true and constant religion and piety, his justice, his learning above all kings christened, his acumen, his judgment, his memory, and you will say that he is indeed *solus præteritis major, meliorque futuris*. But because I cannot speak what I would, I will forbear to speak what I could. Also against the queen, a most gracious and graceful lady, a most virtuous, fruitful, and blessed vine, who hath happily brought forth such olive branches, as that, *in benedictione erit memoria ejus*, her memory shall be blessed of all our posterity. Then against the royal issue male, next unto God, and after our sovereign, the future hope, comfort, joy, and life of our state. And as for preserving the good Lady Elizabeth, the king's

daughter, it should only have been for a time to have served their purposes, as being thought a fit project to keep others in appetite for their own further advantage; and then God knoweth what would have become of her. To conclude, against all the most honourable and prudent councillors, and all the true-hearted and worthy nobles, all the reverend and learned bishops, all the grave judges and sages of the law, all the principal knights, gentry, citizens, and burgesses of Parliament, the flower of the whole realm. *Horret animus*, I tremble even to think of it. Miserable desolation! No king, no queen, no prince, no issue male, no councillors of state, no nobility, no bishops, no judges. Oh! barbarous; and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty! No mantle of holiness can cover it, no pretence of religion can excuse it, no shadow of good intention can extenuate it. God and heaven condemn it, man and earth detest it, the offenders themselves were ashamed of it, wicked people exclaim against it, and the souls of all true Christian subjects abhor it. Miserable, but yet sudden, had their ends been, who should have died in that fiery tempest and storm of gunpowder; but more miserable had they been that had escaped. And what horrible effects the blowing up of so much powder and stuff would have wrought, not only amongst men and beasts, but even upon insensible creatures, churches, and houses, and all places near adjoining, you who have been martial men best know. For myself, *vox faucibus hæret*; so that the king may say with the kingly prophet David, "O Lord, the proud are risen against me, and the congregation, even Synagoga, the synagogue of naughty men, have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes."—Psalm lxxxvi. 14. And as it is, "The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread a net abroad, yea, and set traps in my way."—

Psalm cxl. 5. "But let the ungodly fall into their own nets together, and let me ever escape them."—Psalm cxli. 11. We may say, "If the Lord himself had not been on our side, yea, if the Lord himself had not been on our side when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us. But praised be the Lord, which hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth. Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord, which hath made heaven and earth."—Psalm cxxiv. 1.

3. The third consideration respects the time when this treason was conspired; wherein note, that it was *primo Jacobi*, even at that time when his majesty used so great lenity towards recusants, in that by the space of a whole year and four months he took no penalty by statute of them. So far was his majesty from severity, that besides the benefit and grace before specified, he also honoured all alike with advancement and favours; and all this was continued until the priest's treason by Watson and Clark. But as there is *misericordia puniens*, so is there likewise *crudelitas parcens*, for they were not only by this not reclaimed, but, as plainly appeareth, became far worse. Nay, the Romish Catholics did at that very time certify, that it was very like the king would deal rigorously with them; and the same do these traitors now pretend as the chiefest motive, whereas, indeed, they had treason on foot against the king before they saw his face in England,—neither afterwards, for all the lenity he used towards them, would any whit desist or relent from their wicked attempts. Nay (that which cometh next to be remembered in this part of their arraignment), they would pick out the time of Parliament for the execution of their hideous treasons, wherein

the flower of the land being assembled for the honour of God, the good of his church, and this commonwealth, they might, as it were, with one blow, not wound, but kill and destroy the whole state. So that with these men, *impunitas continuum affectum tribuit peccandi*, lenity having once bred a hope of impunity, begat not only insolency, but impertinency and increase of sin.

4. We are to consider the place, which was the sacred senate, the house of Parliament. And why there? For that, say they, unjust laws had formerly been made there against Catholics; therefore that was the fittest place, of all others, to revenge it, and to do justice in. If any ask, who should have executed this their justice, it was Justice Fawkes, a man like enough to do according to his name. If by what law they meant to proceed? It was gunpowder law, fit for justices of hell. But concerning those laws which they so calumniate as unjust, it shall in few words plainly appear, that they were the greatest, both in moderation and equity, that ever existed; for from the year 1 Elizabeth unto 11, all Papists came to our church and service without scruple. I myself have seen Cornwallis, Beddingfield, and others, at church. So that then, for the space of ten years, they made no conscience nor doubt to communicate with us in prayer. But when once the Bull of Pope Pius Quintus was come and published, wherein the queen was accursed and deposed, and her subjects discharged of their obedience and oath, yea, cursed if they did obey her; then did they all forthwith refrain the church—then would they have no more society with us in prayer. So that recusancy in them is not for religion, but in an acknowledgment of the Pope's power, and a plain manifestation what their judgment is concerning the right of the prince in respect of regal power and place. Two years after—viz.,

Anno 13 Eliz.—was there a law made against the bringing in of bulls, &c. Anno 18 came Mayne, a priest, to move sedition. Anno 20 came Campion, the first Jesuit who was sent to make a party here in England, for the execution of the former bull. Then follows treasonable books. Anno 23 Eliz., after so many years sufferance, there were laws made against recusants and seditious books. The penalty or sanction for recusancy was not loss of life, or limb, or whole estate, but only a pecuniary mulct and penalty, and that also until they would submit and conform themselves, and again come to church, as they had done for ten years before the Bull. And yet afterwards the Jesuits and Romish priests, both coming daily into, and swarming within the realm, and infusing continually this poison into the subjects' hearts, that, by reason of the said Bull of Pius Quintus, her majesty stood excommunicated and deprived of her kingdom, and that her subjects were discharged of all obedience to her, endeavouring by all means to draw them from their duty and allegiance to her majesty, and to reconcile them to the Church of Rome. Then, 27 Eliz., a law was made, that it should be treason for any (not to be a priest and an Englishman, born the queen's natural subject,) but for any being so born her subject, and made a Romish priest, to come into any of her dominions, to infect any her loyal subjects with their treasonable and damnable persuasions and practices; yet so that it concerned only such as were made priests since her majesty came to the crown, and not before.

Concerning the execution of these laws, it is to be observed, likewise, that whereas, in the quinquenny, the five years of Queen Mary, there were cruelly put to death about three hundred persons for religion; in all her majesty's time, by the space of forty-four years and

upwards, there were for treasonable practices executed in all not thirty priests, nor above five receivers and harbourers of them ; and for religion, not any one. And here, by the way, I desire those of Parliament to observe, that it is now questioned and doubted whether the law of recusants and reconciled persons do hold for Ireland also, and the parts beyond the seas ; that is, whether such as were there reconciled be within the compass of the statute, or not, to the end it may be cleared and provided for.

Now, against the usurped power of the See of Rome, we have of former times about thirteen several acts of Parliament. So that the crown and king of England is no ways to be drawn under the government of any foreign power whatsoever ; neither oweth duty to any, but is immediately under God himself. Concerning the Popes—for thirty-three of them, namely, unto Silvester, they were famous martyrs ; but—*Quicumque desiderat primatum in terris, inveniet confusionem in cœlis*—he that desires primacy upon earth shall surely find confusion in heaven.

The fifth consideration is of the end ; which was, to bring a final and fatal confusion upon the state. For howsoever they sought to shadow their impiety with the cloak of religion, yet they intended to breed a confusion fit to get new alterations ; for they went to join with Romish Catholics and discontented persons.

Now, the sixth point, which is the means to compass and work these designs, were damnable—by mining, by six-and-thirty barrels of powder, having crows of iron, stones, and wood laid upon the barrels, to have made the breach the greater. Lord, what a wind, what a fire, what a motion and commotion of earth and air, would there have been ! But, as it is in the Book of Kings, when Elias was in the cave in Mount Horeb, and that he was called forth to

stand before the Lord, behold a mighty strong wind rent the mountains, and break the rocks, *sed non in vento Dominus*, but the Lord was not in the wind. And after the wind came a commotion of the earth and air; *et non in commotione Dominus*, the Lord was not in that commotion. And after the commotion came fire: *et non in igne Dominus*, the Lord was not in the fire. So neither was God in any part of this monstrous action; the authors whereof were, in this respect, worse than the very damned spirit of Dives, who, as it is in the Gospel, desired that others should not come *in locum tormentorum*.

7. The next consideration is the secret contriving and carriage of this treason, to which purpose there were four means used. First, Catesby was commended to the marquis for a regiment of horse in the Low Countries (which is the same that the Lord Arundel now hath), that under that pretence he might have furnished this treason with horses without suspicion. The second means was an oath, which they solemnly and severally took, as well for secrecy, as for perseverance and constancy in the execution of their plot. The form of the oath was as followeth:—

“You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave.”

This oath was by Gerrard, the Jesuit, given to Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, and Thomas Winter, at once, and by Greenwel, the Jesuit, to Bates, at another time, and so to the rest.

The third was the sacrament, which they impiously and devilishly profaned to this end. But the last was their perfidious and perjurious

equivocating, abetted, allowed, and justified by the Jesuits, not only simply to conceal or deny an open truth, but religiously to aver, to protest upon salvation, to swear that which themselves know to be most false; and all this by reserving a secret and private sense inwardly to themselves, whereby they are by their ghostly fathers persuaded that they may safely and lawfully delude any question whatsoever. And here was showed a book written not long before the queen's death, at which time Thomas Winter was employed into Spain, intituled, "A Treatise of Equivocation;" which book being seen and allowed by Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits, and Blackwel, the arch-priest of England; in the beginning thereof, Garnet, with his own hand, put out those words in the title of "Equivocation," and made it thus: "A Treatise against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation;" whereas, in deed and truth, it makes for both, "*Speciosaque nomina culpæ inponis Garnette tuæ.*" And in the end thereof, Blackwel besprinkles it with his blessing, saying: "Tractatus iste, valde doctus, et verè pius, et Catholicus est. Certe S. Scripturarum, patrum, doctorum, scholasticum, canonistarum, and optimarum rationum præsidiiis plenissimè firmat æquitatem equivocationis. Ideoque dignissimus est qui typis propagetur, ad consolationem afflictorum Catholicorum, et omnium piorum instructionem"—that is, this treatise is very learned, godly, and Catholic, and doth most fully confirm the equity of equivocation, by strong proofs out of Holy Scriptures, fathers, doctors, schoolmen, canonists, and soundest reasons; and therefore worthy to be published in print, for the comfort of afflicted Catholics, and instruction of all the godly.

Now, in this book there is, *propositio mentalis verbalis, scripta, et mixta*, distinguishing of a mental, a verbal, a written, and a mixed

proposition—a very labyrinth to lead men into error and falsehood. For example, to give you a little taste of this art of cozening:—

A man is asked upon oath this question: “Did you see such an one to-day?” He may, by this doctrine, answer “No,” though he did see him, viz., reserving this secret meaning, not with purpose to tell my Lord Chief Justice. Or, I saw him not, *Visione beatifica*, or not in Venice, &c. Likewise, to answer thus, I was in the company—reserving and intending secretly, as added, the word not; as Strange, the Jesuit, did to my Lord Chief Justice and myself. Take one or two of these out of that very book, as, for example, a man cometh into Coventry in time of a suspicion of plague, and at the gates the officers meet him, and upon his oath examine him, whether he came from London or no, where they thought certainly the plague was. This man, knowing for certain the plague was not at London, or at least knowing that the air is not there infectious, and that he only rode through some secret place of London, not staying there, may safely swear he came not from London, answering to the final intention in their demand—that is, whether he came so from London, that he might endanger their city of the plague, although their immediate intention were to know whether he came from London or no. That man (saith the book) the very light of nature would clear from perjury. In like manner, one being convented in the Bishop’s Court, because he refuseth to take such a one to his wife as he had contracted with *per verba de præsenti*, having contracted with another privily before, so that he cannot be husband to her that claimeth him, may answer, that he never contracted with her *per verba de præsenti*, understanding that he did not so contract that it was a marriage, for that is the final intention of the judge, to know whether there were a sufficient mar-

riage between them or no. Never did Father Cranmer, Father Latimer, or Father Ridley—those blessed martyrs—know these shifts, neither would they have used them to have saved their lives. And surely let every good man take heed of such jurors or witnesses, there being no faith, no bond of religion or civility, no conscience of truth in such men; and therefore the conclusion shall be that of the prophet David—*Domine, libera animam meam à labiis iniquis et à lingua dolosa*—“Deliver me, O Lord, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.”

S. P. Q. R. was sometimes taken for these words—*Senatus Populusque Romanus*—the senate and people of Rome; but now they may truly be expressed thus—*Stultus populus quærit Romam*—a foolish people that runneth to Rome. And here was very aptly and delightfully inserted and related the apologue or tale of the cat and the mice. The cat having a long time preyed upon the mice, the poor creatures at last, for their safety, contained themselves within their holes; but the cat finding his prey to cease, as being known to the mice that he was indeed their enemy, and a cat, deviseth the course following, viz., changeth his hue, getteth on a religious habit, shaveth his crown, walks gravely by their holes; and yet, perceiv'ing that the mice kept their holes, and looking out, suspected the worst—he formally, and father-like said unto them, *Quod fueram non sum, frater, caput aspice tonsum*—O brother, I am not as you take me for; no more a cat: see my habit and shaven crown. Hereupon some of the more credulous and bold among them were again by this deceit snatched up; and, therefore, when afterwards he came as before to entice them forth, they would come out no more, but answered, *Cor tibi restat idem, vix tibi præsto fidem*—Talk what you can, we will

never believe you ; you have still a cat's heart within you : you do not watch and pray, but you watch to prey. And so have the Jesuits, yea, and priests too ; for they are all joined in the tails like Sampson's foxes—Ephraim against Manasses, and Manasses against Ephraim—but both against Judah.

8. The last consideration is, concerning the admirable discovery of this treason, which was by one of themselves, who had taken the oath and sacrament, as hath been said, against his own will : the means was, by a dark and doubtful letter sent to my Lord Mounteagle. And thus much as touching the considerations ; the observations follow, to be considered in this Powder Treason, and are briefly thus,—

(1.) If the cellar had not been hired, the mine-work could hardly or not at all have been discovered ; for the mine was neither found, nor suspected, until the danger was past, and the capital offenders apprehended, and by themselves, upon examination, confessed.

(2.) How the king was divinely illuminated by Almighty God, the only ruler of princes, like an angel of God, to direct and point as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made there, out of those dark words of the letter concerning a terrible blow.

(3.) Observe a miraculous accident which befel in Stephen Littleton's house, called Holbeach, in Staffordshire, after they had been two days in open rebellion, immediately before the apprehension of these traitors : for some of them standing by the fire-side, and having set above 2 lbs. of powder to dry in a platter before the fire, and underset the said platter with a great linen bag, full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds ; it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof the powder taking

fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as Catesby, Grant, and Rookwood, blew up the roof of the house, and the linen bag which was set under the platter being therewith suddenly carried out through the breach, fell down in the court-yard whole and unfired; which if it had took fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this trial. And, *lex iustior ulla est, quàm necis artifices arte perire sua?*

(4.) Note, that gunpowder was the invention of a friar, one of that Romish rabble; as printing was of a soldier.

(5.) Observe the sending of Baynham, one of the damned crew, to the high priest of Rome, to give signification of this blow, and to crave his direction and aid.

(6.) That for all their stirring and rising in open rebellion, and notwithstanding the false rumours given out by them, that the throats of all Catholics should be cut, such is his majesty's blessed government, and the loyalty of his subjects, as they got not any one man to take their parts besides their own company.

(7.) Observe, the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, according to the duty of his office, with such power as he on a sudden by law collected, suppressed them.

(8.) That God suffered their intended mischief to come so near the period, as not to be discovered but within a few hours before it should have been executed.

(9.) That it was in the entering of the sun into the tropic of Capricorn, when they began their mine; noting that by mining they should descend, and by hanging ascend.

(10.) That there was never any Protestant minister in any treason and murder, as yet attempted within this realm.

Comparisons.

I am now come to the last part, which I

proposed in the beginning of this discourse, and that is, touching certain comparisons of this powder treason of the Jesuits, with that of Raleigh, and the other of the priests, Watson and Clark. 1. They had all one end, and that was the Romish Catholic cause. 2. The same means, by Popish and discontented persons, priests and laymen. 3. They all played at hazard; the priests were at the by, Raleigh at the main; but these in at all, as purposing to destroy all the king's royal issue, and withal the whole estate. 4. They were all alike obliged by the same oath and sacrament. 5. The same proclamations were intended, after the fact, to be published for reformation of abuses. 6. The like army provided for invading, to land at Milford Haven, or in Kent. 7. The same pensions of crowns promised. 8. The agreeing of the times of the treason of Raleigh and these men, which was, when the Constable of Spain was coming hither, and Raleigh said there could be no suspicion of any invasion, seeing that the Constable of Spain was then expected for a treaty of peace; and the navy might be brought to the Groine, under pretence of the service in the Low Countries. And Raleigh further said, that many more were hanged for words than for deeds. And before Raleigh's treason was discovered, it was reported in Spain that Don Raleigh and Don Cobham should cut the King of England's throat. I say not that we have any proofs that these of the Powder-Plot were acquainted with Raleigh, or Raleigh with them; but, as before was spoken of the Jesuits and priests, so they all were joined in the ends, like Samson's foxes in the tails, howsoever severed in their heads.

The conclusion shall be from the admirable clemency and moderation of the king, in that howsoever these traitors have exceeded all others their predecessors in mischief, and so *Crescente*

Conclusion.

**Punishment for
High Treason.**

malitia, crescere debuit et pœna, yet neither will the king exceed the usual punishment of law, nor invent any new torture or torment for them, but is graciously pleased to afford them as well an ordinary course of trial as an ordinary punishment, much inferior to their offence. And surely worthy of observation is the punishment by law provided and appointed for high treason, which we call *crimen læsæ majestatis*. For first, after a traitor hath had his just trial, and is convicted and attainted, he shall have his judgment, to be drawn to the place of execution from his prison, as being not worthy any more to tread upon the face of the earth, whereof he was made. Also, for that he hath been retrograde to nature, therefore is he drawn backwards at a horse's tail. And whereas God hath made the head of man the highest and most supreme part, as being his chief grace and ornament, *pronâque cum spectent animalia cœtera terram, os homini sublime dedit*, he must be drawn with his head declining downward, and lying so near the ground as may be, being thought unfit to take benefit of the common air. For which cause also he shall be strangled, being hanged up by the neck between heaven and earth, as deemed unworthy of both, or either, as likewise that the eyes of men may behold, and their hearts condemn him. Then is he to be cut down alive, and to have his privy parts cut off, and burnt before his face, as being unworthily begotten, and unfit to leave any generation after him. His bowels and inlayed parts taken out and burnt, who inwardly had conceived and harboured in his heart such horrible treason; after to have his head cut off, which had imagined the mischief; and lastly, his body to be quartered, and the quarters set up in some high and eminent place, to the view and detestation of men, and to become a prey for the fowls of the air. And this is a reward due to traitors,

whose hearts are hardened, for that it is physic of state and government to let out corrupt blood from the heart. But *pænitentia vera nunquam sera, sed pænitentia sera rarò vera*. True repentance is indeed never too late, but late repentance is seldom found true, which yet I pray the merciful Lord to grant unto them, that having a sense of their offences, they may make a true and sincere confession, both for their souls' health, and for the good and safety of the king and this state. And for the rest that are not yet apprehended, my prayer to God is, *ut aut convertantur ne pereant, aut confundantur ne noceant*; that either they may be converted to the end they perish not, or else confounded that they hurt not.

After this, by the direction of Master Attorney-general, were their several examinations, subscribed by themselves, showed particularly unto them, and acknowledged by them to be their own, and true, wherein every one had confessed the treason. Then did Master Attorney desire, that albeit that which had been already done and confessed at the bar, might be all-sufficient for the declaration and justification of the course of justice then held, especially seeing we have *reos confitentes*, the traitors' own voluntary confessions at the bar; yet for further satisfaction to so great a presence and audience, and their better memory of the carriage of these treasons, the voluntary and free confessions of all the said several traitors in writing, subscribed with their own proper hands, and acknowledged at the bar by themselves to be true, were openly and distinctly read; by which, amongst other things, it appeared that Bates was resolved for what he undertook concerning the Powder treason, and being therein warranted by the Jesuits. Also, it appeared, that Hammond, the Jesuit, after that he knew the Powder treason was discovered, and that these traitors had been in

actual rebellion, confessed them, and gave them absolution; and this was on Thursday the 7th of November. Here also was mention made by Master Attorney of the confessions of Watson and Clark, seminary priests, upon their apprehension, who affirmed that there was some treason intended by the Jesuits, and then in hand, as might appear, first, by their continual negotiating at that time with Spain, which they assured themselves tended to nothing, but a preparation for foreign commotion.

2. By their collecting and gathering together such great sums of money, as then they had done, therewith to levy an army when time should serve.

3. For that sundry of the Jesuits had been tampering with Catholics, as well to dissuade them from acceptance of the king at his first coming, saying that they ought rather to die than to admit of any heretic (as they continually termed his majesty) to the crown; and that they might not, under pain of excommunication, accept of any but a Catholic for their sovereign; as also to dissuade Catholics from their loyalty, after the state was settled.

Lastly, in that they had both brought up store of great horses throughout the country, and conveyed powder, and shot, and artillery secretly to their friends, wishing them not to stir, but keep themselves quiet till they heard from them.

After the reading of their several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as well of themselves, as of some of their dead confederates, they were all, by the verdict of the jury, found guilty of the treasons contained in their indictment; and then, being severally asked what they could say, wherefore judgment of death should not be pronounced against them, there was not one of these, except Rookwood, who would make any continued speech, either

in defence or extenuation of the fact. Thomas Winter only desired that he might be hanged both for his brother and himself. Guy Fawkes, being asked why he pleaded not guilty, having nothing to say for his excuse, answered, that he had so done in respect of certain conferences mentioned in the indictment, which he said that he knew not of: which were answered to have been set down according to course of law, as necessarily pre-supposed before the resolution of such a design. Keyes said, that his estate and fortunes were desperate, and as good now as another time, and for this cause rather than for another. Bates craved mercy. Robert Winter, mercy. John Grant was a good while mute, yet after, submissively said, he was guilty of a conspiracy intended, but never effected. But Ambrose Rookwood first excused his denial of the indictment, for that he had rather lose his life than give it. Then did he acknowledge his offence to be so heinous, that he justly deserved the indignation of the king, and of the lords, and the hatred of the whole commonwealth; yet could he not despair of mercy at the hands of a prince so abounding in grace and mercy. And the rather, because his offence, though it were incapable of any excuse, yet not altogether incapable of some extenuation, in that he had been neither author nor actor, but only persuaded and drawn in by Catesby, whom he loved above any worldly man. And that he had concealed it, not for any malice to the person of the king, or to the state, or for any ambitious respect of his own, but only drawn with the tender respect and the faithful and dear affection he bore to Mr. Catesby his friend, whom he esteemed more dear than anything else in the world. And this mercy he desired, not for any fear of the image of death, but for the grief that so shameful a death should leave so perpetual a blemish and blot unto all

ages upon his name and blood. But howsoever that this was his first offence, yet he humbly submitted himself to the mercy of the king, and prayed that the king would herein imitate God, who sometimes doth punish *corporaliter*, *non mortaliter*; corporally, yet not mortally.

Then was related how that, on Friday, immediately before this arraignment, Robert Winter, having found opportunity to have conference with Fawkes in the Tower, in regard of the nearness of their lodgings, should say to Fawkes, as Robert Winter and Fawkes confessed, that he and Catesby had sons, and that boys would be men, and that he hoped they would revenge the cause: nay, that God would raise up children to Abraham out of stones. Also, that they were sorry that no body did set forth a defence or apology of their action; but yet they would maintain the cause at their deaths.

Here, also, was reported Robert Winter's dream, which he had before the blasting with powder in Littleton's house, and which he himself confessed, and first notified; viz., that he thought he saw steeples stand awry, and within those churches strange and unknown faces. And after, when the aforesaid blast had, the day following, scorched divers of the confederates, and much disfigured the faces and countenances of Grant, Rookwood, and others, then did Winter call to mind his dream, and to his remembrance thought that the faces of his associates so scorched resembled those which he had seen in his dream. And thus much concerning the former indictment.

Sir Everard
Digby indicted.
See the indictment.

Then was Sir Everard Digby arraigned, and after his indictment was read, wherein he was charged not only to have been acquainted with the Powder treason, and concealed it, and taken the double oath of secresy and constancy therein, but likewise to have been an actor in this conspiracy; and lastly, to have exposed,

and openly showed himself in the rebellion in the country, amongst the rest of the traitors ; all which, after he had attentively heard and marked, knowing that he had freely confessed it, and the strength and evidence of the proofs against him, and convicted with the testimony of his own conscience, showed his disposition to confess the principal part of the said indictment, and so began to enter into a discourse. But being advertised that he must first plead to the indictment directly, either guilty or not guilty, and that afterwards he should be licensed to speak his pleasure, he forthwith confessed the treason contained in the indictment, and so fell into a speech, whereof there were two parts, viz., motives and petitions. The first motive which drew him into this action was not ambition, nor discontentment of his estate, neither malice to any in Parliament, but the friendship and love he bore to Catesby, which prevailed so much, and was so powerful with him, as that, for his sake, he was ever contented and ready to hazard himself and his estate. The next motive was the cause of religion, which alone, seeing, as he said, it lay at the stake, he entered into resolution to neglect, in that behalf, his estate, his life, his name, his memory, his posterity, and all worldly and earthly felicity whatsoever, though he did utterly extirpate and extinguish all other hopes for the restoring of the Catholic religion in England. His third motive was, that promises were broken with the Catholics. And lastly, that they generally feared harder laws from this Parliament against recusants, as that recusants, wives and women, should be liable to the mulct as well as their husbands and men. And further, that it was supposed that it should be made a *Præmunire* only to be a Catholic.

Sir Everard
Digby's speech.

His petitions were, that since his offence was confined and contained within himself, that

the punishment also of the same might extend only to himself, and not be transferred either to his wife, children, sisters, or others; and therefore for his wife he humbly craved that she might enjoy her jointure; his son, the benefit of an entail made long before any thought of this action; his sisters, their just and due portions which were in his hands; his creditors, their rightful debts; which that he might more justly set down under his hand, he requested that, before his death, his man (who was better acquainted both with the men and the particulars than himself) might be licensed to come unto him. Then prayed he pardon of the king for his guilt. And lastly, he entreated to be beheaded, desiring all men to forgive him, and that his death might satisfy them for his trespass.

To this speech forthwith answered Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-general, but in respect of the time (for it grew now dark) very briefly. 1. For his friendship with Catesby, that it was mere folly, and wicked conspiracy. 2. His religion, error and heresy. 3. His promises, idle and vain presumptions; as also his fears, false alarms. Concerning wives that were recusants, if they were known so to be before their husbands (though they were good Protestants) took them, and yet for outward and worldly respects whatsoever any would match with such, great reason there is that he or they should pay for it, as knowing the penalty and burthen before; for, *Volenti et scienti non fit injuria*,—no man receives injury in that to which he willingly and knowingly agreeth and consenteth. But if she were no recusant at the time of marriage, and yet afterwards he suffer her to be corrupted and seduced, by admitting priests and Romanists into his house, good reason likewise that he, be he Papist or Protestant, should pay for his negligence and misgovernment.

4. Concerning the petition for wife, for chil-

dren, for sisters, &c. Oh, how he doth now put on the bowels of nature and compassion in the peril of his private and domestic estate! But before, when the public state of his country,—when the king, the queen, the tender princes, the nobles, the whole kingdom, were designed to a perpetual destruction,—where was then this piety, this religious affection, this care? All nature, all humanity, all respect of laws, both divine and human, were quite abandoned; then was there no conscience made to extirpate the whole nation, and all for a pretended zeal to the Catholic religion, and the justification of so detestable and damnable a fact.

Here did Sir Everard Digby interrupt Mr. Attorney, and said, that he did not justify the fact, but confessed that he deserved the vilest death, and most severe punishment that might be; but he was an humble petitioner for mercy, and some moderation of justice. Whereupon Mr. Attorney replied, that he should not look by the king to be honoured in the manner of his death, having so far abandoned all religion and humanity in his action; but that he was rather to admire the great moderation and mercy of the king, in that, for so exorbitant a crime, no new torture answerable thereunto was devised to be inflicted upon him. And for his wife and children, whereas he said, that for the Catholic cause he was content to neglect the ruin of himself, his wife, his estate, and all; he should have his desire as it is in the psalm, “Let his wife be a widow, and his children vagabonds; let his posterity be destroyed, and in the next generation let his name be quite put out.” For the paying of your creditors, it is equal and just, but yet fit the king be first satisfied and paid, to whom you owe so much, as that all you have is too little; yet these things must be left to the pleasure of his majesty, and the course of justice and law.

LORD NORTHAMPTON'S *Speech, as it was taken at the arraignment of SIR EVERARD DIGBY,*
by T. S.

You must not hold it strange, Sir Everard Digby, though at this time, being pressed in duty, conscience, and truth, I do not suffer you to wander in the labyrinth of your own idle conceits without opposition, to seduce others, as yourself have been seduced, by false principles; or to convey yourself by charms of imputation, by clouds of error, and by shifts of lately devised equivocation, out of that strait wherein your late secure and happy fortune hath been un- luckily entangled; but yet justly surprised by the rage and revenge of your own rash, humours. If in this crime (more horrible than any man is able to express) I could lament the estate of any person upon earth, I could pity you; but thank yourself and your bad counselors for leading you into a crime of such a kind, as no less deadens, in all faithful, true, and honest men, the tenderness of affection, than it did in you, the sense of all humanity.

That you were once well thought of, and esteemed by the late queen, I can witness, having heard her speak of you with that grace which might have encouraged a true gentleman to have run a better course; nay, I will add further, that there was a time wherein you were as well affected to the king our master's expectation, though perhaps upon false rumours and reports, that he would have yielded satisfaction to your improbable and vast desires; but the seed that wanted moisture (as our Saviour himself reporteth) took no deep root: that zeal which hath no other end or object than the pleasing of itself, is quickly spent; and Trajan, that worthy and wise emperor, had reason to hold himself discharged of all debts to those that had offended more by prevarication, than they could deserve by industry.

I am not ignorant that this seditious and false alarm hath awaked and incited many working spirits to the prejudice of the present state, that might otherwise have slept as before with silence and sufferance: it hath served for a shield of wax against a sword of power; it hath been used as an instrument of art to shadow false approaches, till the Trojan horse might be brought within the walls of the Parliament, with a belly stuffed, not as in old time with armed Greeks, but with hellish gunpowder. But however God had blinded you and others in this action, as he did the King of Egypt and his instruments, for the brighter evidence of his own powerful glory; yet every man of understanding could discern that a prince, whose judgment had been fixed by experience of so many years upon the poles of the north and the south, could not shrink upon the sudden; no, not even with fear of that combustion which Catesby, that archtraitor, like a second Phaeton, would have caused in an instant in all the elements. His majesty did never value fortunes of the world, in lesser matter than religion, with the freedom of his thoughts; he thought it no safe policy, professing as he did and ever will, to call up more spirits into the circle than he could put down again; he knew that *omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur*. Philosophy doth teach, that whatsoever any man may think in secret thought, that where one doth hold of Cephas, another of Apollo, openly dissension ensues, *quod insitum alieno solo est, in id quo aliter, natura vertente, degenerat*; and the world will ever apprehend, that *quorum est commune symbolum, facilis est transitus*.

Touching the point of having promised a kind of toleration to Catholics, as it was divulged by these two limbs of Lucifer, Watson and Percy, to raise a ground of practice and conspiracy against the state and person of our dear

sovereign, let the kingdom of Scotland witness for the space of so many years before his coming hither, whether either flattery or fear (no, not upon that enterprise of the 17th of November, which would have put the patience of any prince in Europe to the proof) could draw from the king the least inclination to this dispensative indifference, that was only believed because it was eagerly desired.

Every man doth know how great art was used, what strong wits sublimed, and how many ministers suborned and corrupted many years, both in Scotland and in foreign parts, to set the king's teeth on edge, with fair promises of future helps and supplies, to that happy end of attaining his due right in England, when the sun should set to rise more gloriously in the same hemisphere, to the wonder both of this island and of the world. But all in vain; for *jacta erat alea*, the king's compass had been set before, and by a more certain rule, and they were commonly cast off as forlorn hopes in the king's favour, that ran a course of ranking themselves in the foremost front of foreign correspondence.

Upon notice given to his majesty from hence, some years before the death of the late queen, that many men were grown suspicious of his religion, by rumours spread abroad that some of those in foreign parts, that seemed to be well affected to his future expectation, had used his name more audaciously, and spoken of his favour to the Catholics more forwardly than the king's own conscience and unchangeable decree could acknowledge (either with a purpose to prepare the minds of foreign princes, or to estrange and alienate affections at home), not only utterly renounced and condemned these encroachments of blind zeal and rash proceedings by the voices of his own ministers, but was careful also for a caution to succeeding hopes,

so far as lay in him, that by the disgrace of the delinquents in this kind the minds of all English subjects chiefly might be secured, and the world satisfied.

No man can speak in this case more confidently than myself, that received in the queen's time, for the space of many years, directions and warnings to take heed that neither any further comfort might be given to Catholics concerning future favours that he did intend, which was, to bind all subjects in one kingdom to one law concerning the religion established, howsoever in civil matters he might extend his favour as he found just cause; nor any seeds of jealousy and diffidence sown in the minds of Protestants by Semeis and Achitophels, to make them doubtful of his constancy, to whom he would confirm with his dearest blood that faith which he had sucked from the breast of his nurse, apprehended from the cradle of his infancy, and maintained with his uttermost endeavour, affection, and strength, since he was more able out of reading and disputing to give a reason of those principles which he had now digested and turned to nutriment.

He that wrote the Book of Titles before the late queen's death, declares abundantly, by seeking to possess some foreign prince of the king's hereditary crowns, when the cause should come to the proof, and may witness instead of many, what hope there was of the king's favour or affection to Catholics, in the case of toleration or dispensation with exercise of conscience. For every man may guess that it was no slight or ordinary degree of despair that made him and other of his suit renounce their portion in the son and heir of that renowned and rare lady, Mary Queen of Scotland, a member of the Roman church, as some did in David, *nulla nobis pars in David, nec hæreditas in filio Isaiab.* For hereof, by letters intercepted in their pas-

sage into Scotland, the records and proofs are evident. His majesty, so long as he was in expectation of that which, by the work and grace of God he doth now possess, did ever seek to settle his establishment upon the faith of Protestants in general, as the most assured sheet-anchor; for though he found a number on the other side as faithful and as well affected to his person, claim, and interest, as any men alive, as well in respect of their dependency upon the queen his mother, as for the respect they had of himself; yet finding with what strength of blood many have been over-carried out of fervency in former times, observing to what censures they were subject, both in points of faith and limitation of loyalty; and last of all, forecasting to what end their former protestation would come, when present satisfaction should shrink, he was ever fearful to embark himself for any further voyage and adventure in this strait than his own compass might steer him, and his judgment level him.

If any one green leaf for Catholics could have been visibly discerned by the eye of Catesby, Winter, Garnet, Fawkes, &c., they would neither have entered into practice with foreign princes during the queen's time for prevention of the king's lawful and hereditary right, nor have renewed the same both abroad and at home, by missions and combinations, after his majesty was both applauded and entered.

It is true, that by confession we find that false priest Watson, and arch-traitor Percy, to have been the first devisers and divulgers of this scandalous report, as an accursed ground, whereon they might with some advantage, as it was conceived, build the castles of their conspiracy.

Touching the first, no man can speak more soundly to the point than myself; for being sent into the prison by the king to charge him

with this false alarm, only two days before his death, and upon his soul to press him in the presence of God, and as he would answer it at another bar, to confess directly, whether at either of the times he had access to his majesty at Edinburgh, his majesty did give him any promise, hope, or comfort of encouragement to Catholics concerning toleration; he did then protest upon his soul, that he could never win one inch of ground, or draw the smallest comfort from the king in those degrees, nor further than that he would have them apprehend, that as he was a stranger to this state, so till he understood in all points how those matters stood, he would not promise favour any way, but did protest, that all the crowns and kingdoms in this world should not induce him to change any iota of his profession, which was the pasture of his soul, and earnest of his eternal inheritance. He did confess, that in very deed, to keep up the hearts of Catholics in love and duty to their king, he had imparted the king's words to many in a better tune, and a higher kind of descant, than his book of plain-song did direct; because he knew that others, like barge-men, looked that way, when their stroke was bent in another. For this he humbly craved pardon of the king in humble manner, and for his main treasons of a higher nature than these figures of hypocrisy; and seemed penitent, as well for the horror of his crime, as for the falsehood of his whisperings.

It hindered not the satisfaction which may be given to Percy's shadow (the most desperate *Boutefeu* in the pack) that as he died impenitent, for anything we know, so likewise he died silent in the particulars: for first, it is not strange, that such a traitor should devise so scandalous a slander out of the malice of his heart, intending to destroy the king by any means, and to advance all means that might

remove obstructions and impediments to the plot of gunpowder. The more odious that he could make him to the party malcontent, and the more sharply that he could set the party malcontent upon the point and humour of revenge, the stronger was his hope at the giving of the last blow, to be glorified and justified. But touching the truth of the matters, it will be witnessed by many, that this traitor Percy, after both the first and second return from the king, brought to the Catholics no spark of comfort, of encouragement, of hope; whereof no stronger proof of argument doth need, than that Fawkes and others were employed both in Spain and other parts, for the reviving of a practice suspended and covered, after Percy's coming back, as in likelihood they should not have been, in case he had returned with a branch of olive in his mouth, or yielded any ground of comfort to resolve upon.

I have thought it thus far needful to proceed for the clearing of the scandals cast abroad by these forlorn hopes and graceless instruments. It only remains, that I pray for your repentance in this world for the satisfaction of many, and forgiveness in the next world for the saving of yourself; having had by the king's favour so long a time to cast up your account before your appearance at the seat of the great Auditor.

Then spake the Earl of Salisbury, especially to that point of his majesty's breaking of promise with recusants, which was urged by Sir Everard Digby as a motive to draw him to participate in this so hideous a treason: wherein his lordship, after acknowledging that Sir Everard Digby was his ally, and having made a zealous and religious protestation concerning the sincerity of what he would deliver; shortly and clearly defended the honour of the king

herein, and freed his majesty from all imputation and scandal of irresolution in religion, and in the constant and perpetual maintaining thereof; as also from having at any time given the least hope, much less promise of toleration. To which purpose he declared, how his majesty, as well before his coming to this Crown, as at that very time, and always since, was so far from promising, or giving hope of toleration, that he ever professed he should not endure the very notion thereof from any.

And here his lordship showed what was done at Hampton Court at the time of Watson's treason, where some of the greater recusants were convened; and being found then not to have their fingers in treason, were sent away again with encouragement to persist in their dutiful carriage, and with promise only of thus much favour, that those mean profits which had occurred since the king's time to his majesty for their recusancy, should be forgiven to the principal gentlemen, who had both at his entry showed so much loyalty, and had kept themselves so free since from all conspiracies.

Then did his lordship also (the rather to show how little truth Sir Everard Digby's words did carry in anything which he had spoken) plainly prove, that all his protestations, wherein he denied so constantly to be privy to the plot of powder, were utterly false, by the testimony of Fawkes (there present at the bar), who had confessed, that certain months before that session, the said Fawkes being with Digby at his house in the country, about which time there had fallen much wet, Digby taking Fawkes aside after supper, told him, that he was much afraid that the powder in the cellar was grown dank, and that some new must be provided, lest that should not take fire.

Next, the said Earl justly and greatly commended the Lord Mounteagle, for his loyal and

honourable care of his prince and country, in the speedy bringing forth the letter sent to him, wherein he said that he had showed both his discretion and fidelity. Which speech being ended, Digby then acknowledged, that he spake not that of the breach of promise out of his own knowledge, but from their relation whom he trusted, and namely from Sir Thomas Tresham.

Now were the jury returned, who, having delivered their verdict, whereby they jointly found those seven prisoners, arraigned upon the former indictment, guilty, Serjeant Philips craved judgment against them upon their conviction; and against Sir Everard Digby, upon his own confession.

Then the Lord Chief Justice of England, after a grave and prudent relation and defence of the laws made by Queen Elizabeth against recusants, priests, and receivers of priests, together with the several occasions, progresses, and reasons of the same; and having plainly demonstrated and proved that they were all necessary, mild, equal, moderate, and to be justified to all the world, pronounced judgment.

Upon the rising of the Court, Sir Everard Digby bowing himself towards the Lords, said, "If I may but hear any of your lordships say you forgive me, I shall go more cheerfully to the gallows." Whereunto the Lords said, "God forgive you, and we do."

And so, according to the sentence, on Thursday following, execution was done upon Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, at the west end of Paul's Church; and, on the Friday following, upon Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, within the old Palace Yard at Westminster, not far from the Parliament House.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

OF HENRY GARNET,*

Superior of the Jesuits in England, on Friday the 28th Day of March, 1606, at Guildhall, in the City of London, before the Lords Commissioners there present.

SIR LEONARD HOLIDAY, Lord Mayor.

The EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

The EARL OF SUFFOLK.

The EARL OF WORCESTER.

The EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

The EARL OF SALISBURY.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

The LORD CHIEF BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER.

SIR CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, Knight, one of His Majesty's Justices of the King's Bench.

THIS person and prisoner here at the bar, this place, and this present occasion and action, do prove that true, which the Author of all Truth hath told us, that, "Nihil est occultum quod non manifestabitur, et nihil est secretum, quod non revelabitur et in palam veniet,"—There is nothing hid that shall not be made manifest, there is nothing secret that shall not be revealed and come in public; and that God, by whom kings do reign—"consilium pravorum dissipat"—doth bring to nought the counsel of the wicked.

That he spake with fear and trembling, and with horror and amazedness, against that rotten root of that hideous and hateful tree of treason, and of that detestable and unheard-of wickedness, he did crave pardon for it—

* The substance and effect of the indictment of Henry Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits in England, appears before in the relation of the former arraignment, and therefore is unnecessary to be repeated again; which indictment was summarily and effectually repeated by Sir John Croke, Knight, his majesty's Serjeant-at-law.

affirming that no flesh could mention it without astonishment.

He showed that Henry Garnet, of the profession of the Jesuits, otherwise Walley, otherwise Darcy, otherwise Roberts, otherwise Farmer, otherwise Philips, (for the whole of those names he called himself, stood indicted of the most barbarous and damnable treasons, the like whereof were never heard of, that he was a man "*multorum nominum*," but not "*boni nominis*," of many names, as appeared by the indictment, but of no good name; adorned by God and nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joined with them; but that wanting, "*quanto ornatior*" in other gifts, "*tanto nequior*."

That this Garnet (his majesty summoning his Parliament to be holden at Westminster, the 19th of March, in the first year of his reign, and by divers prorogations continuing it till the 3rd of October last), together with Catesby, lately slain in open rebellion, and with Oswald Tesmond, a Jesuit, otherwise, Oswald Greenwel, as a false traitor against the most mighty and most renowned king, our sovereign lord King James, the 9th of June last, traitorously did conspire and compass to depose the king and to deprive him of his government; to destroy and kill the king, and the noble Prince Henry, his eldest son: such a king, and such a prince, such a son of such a father, whose virtues are rather with amazed silence to be wondered at, than able by any speech to be expressed; to stir sedition and slaughter throughout the kingdom; to subvert the true religion of God, and whole government of the kingdom; to overthrow the whole state of the commonwealth.

The manner of performing these horrible treasons, the serjeant said "*horreo dicere*," his lips did tremble to speak it, but his heart praised God for his mighty deliverance. The practice so inhuman, so barbarous, so damnable, so detestable, as the like was never read nor heard of, or ever entered into the heart of the most wicked man to imagine. And here he said, he could not but mention that religious observation so religiously observed by his religious majesty, wishing it were engraven in letters of gold in the hearts of all his people, the more hellish the imagination, the more divine the preservation.

This Garnet, together with Catesby and Tesmond, had conference together of these treasons, and concluded most traitorously and devilishly—

That Catesby, Winter, Fawkes, with many other traitors, lately attainted of high treason, would blow up with gunpowder in the Parliament House the king, the prince, the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges of the realm, the knights, citizens and burgesses, and many other subjects and servants of the king assembled in Parliament, at one blow traitorously and devilishly to destroy them all, and piece-meal to tear them asunder, without respect of majesty, dignity, degree, age, or place; and for that purpose great quantity of gunpowder was traitorously and secretly placed, and hid by these conspirators under the Parliament House.

This being the substance and the effect of the indictment, Garnet pleaded “Not guilty” to it; and a very discreet and substantial jury, with allowance of challenges unto the prisoner, were sworn at the bar for the trial of him, to whom the serjeant showed that they should have evidences to prove him guilty, that should be “luce clariores,” that every man might read them running.

They should, further, have “testimonia rerum,” and “loquentia signa,” witnesses and testimonies of the things themselves.

“Reum consitentem,” or rather, “reos consitentes et accusantes invicem.”

That every one may say unto him, “Serve nequam,” thou wicked subject, “ex ore tuo te judico,” out of thine own mouth I condemn thee.

And this shall be made so manifest by him that best can do it, as shall stop the mouth of all contradiction.

The effect of that which SIR EDWARD COKE, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney-general, said at the arraignment of HENRY GARNET, Superior of the Jesuits in England.

YOUR lordships may perceive by the parts of the indictment, which have been succinctly opened, that this is but a latter act of that heavy and woful tragedy, which is commonly called the Powder treason, wherein some have already played their parts, and, according to their demerits,

suffered condign punishment and pains of death. We are now to proceed against this prisoner for the same treason, in which respect the necessary repetition of some things before spoken shall at the least seem tolerable; for that "*Nunquam nimis dicitur, quod nunquam satis dicitur*,"—it is never said too often, that can never be said enough. Nay, it may be thought justifiable to repeat in this case, for that in respect of the confluence and access of people at the former arraignment, many could not hear at that time. And yet, because I fear it would be tedious, for that most of all my lords commissioners, and of this honourable and great assembly, were present at the arraignment, and for that I am now to deal with a man of another quality, I will only touch, and that very little, of the former evidence, and that little also shall be mingled with such new matter, as shall be worth the hearing, as being indeed of weight and moment; and all this with very great brevity.

But before I further proceed to the opening of this so great a cause, I hold it fit and necessary to give satisfaction to two different sorts of men, who, according to the divers affections of their hearts, have divined and conjectured diversely of the cause of the delay of proceeding, especially against this person, the matter wherewith he stands charged being so transcendant and exorbitant as it is. The first of these, out of their hearty love and loyalty to their natural liege lord and king, and to their dear country, and this state, have feared the issue of this delay, lest that others might be animated by such protraction and judgment to perpetrate the like. For they say (and it is most true), "*Quia non profertur citò contra malos sententia, absque timore ullo filii hominum perpetrant mala*;" because speedy justice is not executed against wicked men, the people without all fear commit wickedness. And pity it were that these good men should not be satisfied. The other sort are of those who, because no greater expedition hath been used against this prisoner at the bar, fall to excusing of him, as gathering these presumptions and conjectures: First, that if he, or any of the Jesuits, had indeed been justly to be touched with this most damnable treason, surely they should have been brought forth and tried before this

time. Secondly, that there was a bill exhibited in Parliament concerning this treason, and this traitor, but that it was deferred, for want of just and sufficient proofs. Nay, thirdly, there was a particular apology spread abroad for this man, and another general for all Jesuits and priests, together with this imputation: that king-killing and queen-killing was not indeed a doctrine of theirs, but only a fiction and policy of our state, thereby to make the Popish religion to be despised. Now, for these men, pity it were that the eye of their understanding should not be enlightened, that so, being by demonstrative proofs convinced, they may be to their prince and country truly converted. First, therefore, concerning the delay, though it be true, *Quod flagellatur in corde, qui laudatur in ore*, yet must I remember the great pains of my Lords the Commissioners of his Majesty's Privy Council in this cause, for Garnet, being first examined upon the 13th of the last month, hath since been again examined and interrogated above twenty several times, which lasted unto the 26th of March, within two days of this arraignment. Touching the bill in Parliament, it was indeed exhibited before Garnet was apprehended; but his majesty's gracious pleasure was, that albeit this treason was without all precedent and example, yet they should be quietly and equally indicted, arraigned, publicly heard, and proceeded withal in a moderate, ordinary, and just course of law. Concerning their apologies, and the fictions of state, as they term them, answer shall be made, by God's grace, in the proper place, when I come to lay open the plots and practices of the Jesuits, to the satisfaction of all this honourable and great assembly. But first I have an humble petition to present to your lordships, and the rest of this grave auditory, for myself, in respect that I am necessarily to name great princes; yet with protestation and caution, that no blot is intended to be laid upon any of them. I know there is *Lex in sermone tenenda*, a law and rule to be observed in speaking, especially in this kind; and that kings and great princes, and the mighty men of this earth, are to be reverently and respectfully dealt with. And therefore I humbly recommend unto you these considerations, concerning this point of mentioning these foreign states.

First, that the kingdoms were at those times in open enmity and hostility, and that might be honourable at one time which was not so at another; so that hostile actions were then justifiable and honourable, as being in times of hostility and war. Secondly, in these things, it is not the king's attorney that speaks, but Garnet the Jesuit; as also, that it proceedeth from an inevitable necessity, for that the examinations as well of this, as of the rest of the traitors, cannot otherwise be opened and urged against them. So is the mention of great men, by the impudence of these wicked traitors, woven into their confessions, that they cannot be severed.

And with this comfort I conclude the preface, that I hope in God this day's work, in the judgment of so many as shall be attentive and well disposed, shall tend to the glory of Almighty God, the honour of our religion, the safety of his most excellent majesty and his royal issue, and the security of the whole commonwealth.

For memory and method, all that I shall speak may be contracted to two general heads: First, I will consider the offences, together with certain circumstances:—

Precedent before the offence.

Concurrent with the offence.

Subsequent after the offence.

Secondly, I will lay down some observations concerning the same.

For the proper name of this offence—because I must speak of several treasons—for the distinction of this from the other, I will name it the Jesuits' Treason, as belonging to them both *ex congruo et condigno*, they were the proprietaries, plotters, and procurers of it; and in such crimes, *plus peccat author quàm actor*, the author or procurer offendeth more than the actor or executor, as may appear by God's own judgment given against the first sin in Paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted upon him, as the original plotter; the woman two, being as the immediate procurer; and Adam but one, as the party seduced.

Circumstances precedent and subsequent, so termed here, are indeed, in their proper natures, all high treasons, but yet in respect of the magnitude, nay, monstrous-

ness of this treason, may comparatively, without any discountenance to them in this case, be used as circumstances. And because I am to deal with the Superior of the Jesuits, I will only touch such treasons as have been plotted and wrought by the Jesuits, of whom this man was Superior, and those treasons also since this Garnet's coming into England, whereof he may truly say, *Et quorum pars magna fui.*

The coming of this Garnet into England, which very act was a treason, was about twenty years past, viz., in July, 1586, in the 28th year of the reign of the late queen, of famous and blessed memory; whereas the year before, namely, the 27th year of Elizabeth, there was a statute made, whereby it was treason for any who was made a Romish priest by any authority from the See of Rome, since the first year of her reign, to come into her dominions; which statute the Romanists calumniate as a bloody, cruel, unjust, and a new, upstart law; and abuse that place of our Saviour—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee," &c.—Matt. xxiii. 37—to that purpose. But indeed it is both mild, merciful, and just, and grounded upon the ancient fundamental laws of England. For, as hath already in the former arraignments been touched, before the Bull of impious Pius Quintus, in the 11th year of the queen, wherein her majesty was excommunicated and deposed, and all they accursed who should yield any obedience unto her, &c., there were no recusants in England, all came to church, howsoever Popishly inclined, or persuaded in most points, to the same Divine Service we now use; but thereupon presently they refused to assemble in our churches, or join with us in public service, not for conscience of anything there done, against which they might justly except out of the Word of God, but because the Pope had excommunicated and deposed her majesty, and cursed those who should obey her; and so upon this Bull ensued open rebellion in the North, and many garboils. But see the event! Now, most miserable in respect of this Bull was the state of Romish recusants, for either they must be hanged for treason, in resisting their lawful sovereign, or cursed for yielding the due obedience unto

her majesty. And therefore of this Pope it was said by some of his own favourites, that he was *homo pius et doctus, sed nimis credulus*; a holy and a learned man, but over credulous; for that he was informed and believed that the strength of the Catholics in England was such as was able to have resisted the queen. But when the Bull was found to take such an effect, then was there a Dispensation given, both by Pius Quintus himself, and Gregory XIII.,—that all Catholics here might show their outward obedience to the queen, *ad redimendam vexationem, et ad ostendendam externam obedientiam*; but with these cautions and limitations:—1. *Rebus sic stantibus*—things so standing as they did. 2. *Donec publica Bullæ executio fieri posset*; that is to say, they might grow into strength, until they were able to give the queen a mate, that the public execution of the said Bull might take place. And all this was confessed by Garnet under his own hand, and now again openly confessed at the bar.

In the 20th year of Queen Elizabeth, came Campion, the Jesuit, and many others of his profession, purposely to make a party in England for the Catholic cause, to the end that the Bull of Pius Quintus might be put in execution. And though all this while recusancy being grounded upon such a disloyal cause, as a very dangerous and disloyal thing; yet was there no law made in that behalf until the twenty-third year of her majesty's reign. And that also imposing only a mulct or penalty upon it, until conformity were offered and showed. Anno 26 Eliz. came Parry, with a resolution from Cardinal de Como and others that it was lawful to kill her majesty, as being excommunicate and deposed. Whereupon her majesty, entering into consultation how (together with her safety, and the protection of her subjects) she might avoid the imminent dangers, and yet draw no blood from these priests and Jesuits, found out this moderate and mild course as the best means to prohibit their coming at all into her land, there never being any king who would endure, or not execute any such persons within their dominions, as should deny him to be lawful king, or go about to withdraw his subjects from their allegiance, or incite them to resist or rebel against him. Nay, the bringing in of a

Bull by a subject of this realm against another, in the time of Edward the First, was adjudged treason. But by the way, for that Garnet hath exclaimed, saying, show us where was your Church before Luther, design the place, name the persons, and so forth; it is answered, by a comparison of a wedge of pure gold, which coming into the hands of impostors, is, by their sophistications and mixtures, for gain and worldly respects, increased and augmented into a huge mass, and retaining still an outward fair show and tincture of gold. Where is now the pure gold, saith one? Show me the place. I answer: In that mass; but for the extracting thereof, and purifying it from dross, that must be done by the art of the workman, and the trial of the touchstone. So the true religion and service of Almighty God, being, for human respects, and worldly pomp, mixed and overladen with a number of superstitious ceremonies and inventions of man; yet ever had God his true Church holding his truth, which hath been by skilful workmen, with the touchstone of the word of God, refined and separate from the dross of man's inventions.

But to proceed; in the 28th year of Queen Elizabeth, being the year of our Lord '86, in June, came Garnet into England, breaking through the wall of treason, being, in truth, *Totus compositus ex proditione*. And this was at that time when the great armada of Spain, which the Pope blessed and christened by the name of "The invincible navy," was, by the instigation of that high priest of Rome, preparing and collecting together out of divers parts, where they could be bought, or hired, or borrowed, and therefore may be called a compounded navy, having in it 158 great ships. The purveyors and forerunners of this navy and invasion were the Jesuits, and Garnet among them, being a traitor even in his very entrance in the land. But the queen, with her own ships and her own subjects, beat this armada, God himself (whose cause indeed it was) fighting for us against them, by fire, and seas, and winds, and rocks, and tempests, scattering all, and destroying most of them. For, *Offenso Creatore, offenditur omnis creatura*, the Creator being offended, every creature is readily armed to revenge his quarrel: in which respect he

is called The Lord of hosts. So that of 158, scarce 40 of their ships returned to the bar of their own haven; and, it is reported, most of them also perished. Insomuch, that in this respect, we may say of Queen Elizabeth as the poet writeth of the Christian Emperor:—

“O nimium dilecta Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.”

Observe here, that about the time of this invasion, there being in Spain met in consultation about that business, the Cardinal of Austria, the Duke of Medina, Count Fuentes, two Irish bishops, with sundry military men, and amongst others, Winslade, an Englishman. The Irish bishops, perceiving that they expected a party of Catholics in England, resolved, that true it was, that it was not possible to do any good here in England unless there were a party of Catholics made beforehand. But such, said they, was the policy of England, as that could never be effected; for if any suspicion or fear arose, the Catholics should quickly be either shut up, or quite cut off. Oh, saith an old soldier, there present, “Hoc facit pro nobis,” that makes for us; for by that means their souls shall go to heaven for their religion, their bodies to the earth for their treason, and their lands and goods to us as conquerors: and this was that indeed they principally aimed at. Note here, that since the Jesuits set foot in this land, there never passed four years without a most pernicious treason, tending to the subversion of the whole State. After that hostile invasion in '88, the Jesuits fell again to treasonable practises; for then, in the year '92, came Patrick Cullen, who was incited by Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, Jaques Fraunces, and Holt, the Jesuit, and resolved by the said Holt to kill the queen; to which purpose he received absolution, and then the sacrament, at the hands of the said Jesuit, together with this ghostly counsel,—that it was both lawful and meritorious to kill her. “Nay,” said Jaques, that base laundress’s son (who was a continual practiser both with this Cullen and others, to destroy her majesty), “the state of England is and will be so settled, that unless Mistress Elizabeth be suddenly taken away, all the devils in hell will not be able to prevail against it, or shake it.”

Now, Cullen’s treason was accompanied with a book

called "Philopater," written for the abetting and warranting of such a devilish act in general by Creswel the Legier Jesuit in Spain, under the name of Philopater. Anno '94 came Williams and York to the same end, viz., to kill the queen, being wrought to undertake so vile and detestable a fact by Father Holt, the Jesuit, and other accomplices. And thereupon the said Williams and York, in the Jesuits' college received the sacrament together of Father Holt, and other Jesuits, to execute the same. And that treason likewise was accompanied by a book, written by the Legier Jesuit and rector at Rome, Parsons, under the name of "Doleman," concerning titles, or rather tittles; a lewd and a lying book, full of falsehood, forgery, and malediction. Anno '97, came Squire, from Spain, to poison her majesty, directed and warranted by Walpole, a Jesuit, then residing there; at whose hands, likewise, after absolution, he received the sacrament, as well to put the practice in execution as to keep it secret. All these treasons were freely and voluntarily confessed by the parties themselves, under their own hands, and yet remain extant to be seen.

In the year 1601, when practises failed, then was force again attempted; for then (as in the former arraignment hath been declared) was Thomas Winter employed to the King of Spain, together with Tesmond, the Jesuit, by this Garnet, who wrote his letters to Arthur, alias Joseph Creswel (the only man whom I have heard of to change his Christian name), the Legier Jesuit in Spain, for the furtherance of that negotiation, which was, as hath been said, to offer the services of the English Catholics to the king, and to deal further concerning an invasion, with promise from the Catholics here of forces, both of men and horses, to be in a readiness to join him. This negotiation, by the means of Creswel, to whom Garnet wrote, took such effect, that the two kingdoms standing then in hostility, the proposition of the English Roman Catholics was accepted, an army to invade (as hath been specified in the former arraignment) promised, and 100,000 crowns to be distributed amongst Romanists and discontented persons, making of a party in England, and for the furtherance of the said service granted. In the meantime, the king earnestly desired, that if the Queen of England should happen to die

he might receive present and certain advertisement thereof.

Now, this treason was accompanied with the Pope's (Clement VIII.) own writing. For now doth the holy father cause to be sent hither to Garnet two briefs or bulls, one to the clergy, and another to the laity; wherein, observe the title, the matter, the time. The title of the one was, "Dilectis filiis, principibus, et nobilibus Catholicis Anglicanis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem;" that is, to our beloved sons the nobles and gentlemen of England, which are Catholics, greeting, and apostolical benediction. The title of the other was, "Dilectis filiis archipresbytero, et reliquo clero Anglicano," &c.; to our beloved sons, the archpriest, and the rest of the Catholic clergy. The matter was, that after the death of her majesty, whether by course of nature or otherwise, whosoever should lay claim or title to the crown of England, though never so directly and nearly interested therein, by descent and blood royal, yet unless he were such an one as would not only tolerate the Catholic (Romish) religion, but by all his best endeavours and force promote it, and by a solemn and sacred oath religiously promise and undertake to perform the same, they should admit or receive none to be king of England. His words are these: "Quantumcunque propinquitate sanguinis niterentur, nisi ejusmodi essent, qui fidem Catholicam non modò tolerarent, sed omni ope ac studio promoverent, et more majorum jurejurando se id præstituros susciperent," &c.

As for King James, at whom the Pope aimed, he hath indeed both *propinquitatem*, and *antiquitatem regalis sanguinis*, for his just claim and title to this crown both before and since the conquest. To insist upon the declaration and deduction of this point, and pass along through the series and course of so many ages and centuries, as it would be over long for this place, so further I might herein seem as it were to gild gold. Only, in a word, his majesty is lineally descended from Margaret the Saint, daughter of Edward, son of King Edmund, grandchild of great Edgar, the British monarch, which Margaret, sole heir of the English Saxon king, was married to Malcolm king of Scotland who by her had issue David the Holy, their king,

from whom that race royal at this day is deduced, and Maud the Good, wife of the first and learned Henry king of England, from whom his majesty directly and lineally proceedeth, and of whom a poet of that time wrote :

“Nec decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam,
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.”

And lastly, his majesty cometh of Margaret, also the eldest daughter of Henry VII., who was descended of that famous union of those two fair roses, the white and the red, York and Lancaster, the effecting of which union cost the effusion of much English blood, besides fourscore or thereabouts of the blood royal. But a more famous union is, by the goodness of the Almighty, perfected in his majesty's person, of divers lions, two famous, ancient, and renowned kingdoms, not only without blood or any opposition, but with an universal acclamation and applause of all sorts of degrees, as it were with one voice. And therefore, most excellent king, for to him I will now speak,

“Cum triplici fulvum conjunge leone leonem,
Ut varias atavus junxerat antè rosas.
Majus opus varios sine pugna unire leones,
Sanguine quàm varias consociâsse rosas.”

These four noble and magnanimous lions, so firmly and undividually united, are able, without any difficulty or great labour, to subdue and overthrow all the letters and bulls (and their calves also) that have been, or can be sent into England.

Now for the time observe, that these bulls or briefs came upon the aforesaid negociation of Thomas Winter into Spain, at which time an army should shortly after have been sent to invade the land; and this was to be put in execution, “Quandocunque contingeret miseram illam fœminam ex hac vita excedere”—whensoever it should happen that that miserable woman (for so it pleased the high priest of Rome to call great Queen Elizabeth) should depart this life. Was Queen Elizabeth miserable? It is said that “Misera constat ex duobus contrariis, scilicet, copia, et inopia: ex copia tribulationis, et inopia consolationis.” Was she, I say, miserable, whom Almighty God so often and so miraculously protected, both from the arrow that flieth by day, their great armada, and from the

pestilence that walketh in the darkness, their secret and treacherous conspiracies? That did beat her most potent enemy? That set up a king in his kingdom? That defended nations, and harboured and protected distressed people? That protected her subjects in peace and plenty, and had the hearts of the most and the best of her subjects? That reigned religiously and gloriously, and died Christianly and in peace? O blessed queen, our late dear sovereign, "*Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*" But Queen Elizabeth of famous memory (for "*memoria ejus semper erit in benedictione*"), as a bright morning star, in the fulness of time, lost her natural light when the great and glorious sun appeared in our horizon. And now since the coming of great King James, there have not passed, I will not say four years, but not four, nay, not two months, without some treason. First in March, 1603, upon the death of her majesty, and before they had seen his majesty's face, was Christopher Wright employed into Spain by Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, to give notice of the queen's death, and to continue the former negociation of Thomas Winter; and by him also doth this Garnet write to Creswel the Jesuit in commendation, and for assistance in his business.

As also on the 22nd of June following was Guy Fawkes sent out of Flanders by Baldwin the Jesuit, by Sir William Stanley, and Hugh Owen, about the same treason; and by letters from Baldwin, directed and commended to Creswel, the Legier Jesuit in Spain, for the procuring of his dispatch, as in the former arraignment hath been declared. In the same June doth Garnet the Superior, together with Gerrard and other Jesuits, and Jesuited Catholics, labour, not only in providing of horses, which, by Thomas Winter and Christopher Wright, upon their several negotiations, they, in the names of all the Catholics in England, had promised the King of Spain to assist and do him service with, at such time as the said king should send forces to invade, either at Milford Haven, or in Kent, as hath before been showed; but also did, by force of the said two bulls or briefs, dissuade the Romish Catholics from yielding their due obedience to his majesty, for that he was not of Roman religion, contrary to the practice of the true

church and churchmen, that undergo wars, *ferendo, non feriendo*, with patience, not with strokes, their weapons being properly *orationes et lachrymæ*, prayers and tears.

In the same June 9, which was 1603, *Primo Jacobi*, brake out likewise the treason of the Romish priests, Watson and Clark, as also that other of Sir Walter Raleigh and others; but the Jesuits seeing that the peace was now in great forwardness, and having notice also that the King of Spain now distasted their propositions, so that there was no further hope left for force, then fell they again to secret practice. As for the bulls or briefs before mentioned, when Catesby had informed Garnet that King James was proclaimed, and the state settled, they were by Garnet, as himself hath affirmed, burnt. But to proceed. In March 1603, Garnet and Catesby (a pestilent traitor) confer together, and Catesby in general telleth him, though most falsely, that the king had broken promise with the Catholics, and therefore assuredly there would be stirs in England before long. In September following meets Catesby and Thomas Percy, and after an unjust, but a grievous, complaint made by Catesby of the king's proceedings, for that, contrary to their expectations, his majesty both did hold, and was like continually to run the same course which the queen before had held. Percy presently breaks forth into this devilish speech, that there was no way but to kill the king, which he the said Percy would undertake to do. But Catesby, as being "*Versuto ingenio et profunda perfidia*," a cunning, a wily, and a deep traitor, intending to use this so furious and fiery a spirit to a further purpose, doth, as it were, stroke him for his great forwardness, yet with sage and stayed counsel tells him, No, Tom, thou shalt not adventure thyself to so small purpose. If thou wilt be a traitor, there is a plot to greater advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered, viz., the Powder treason.

In January, in the first year of his majesty, Garnet took out a general pardon under the great seal of England, of all treasons, which pardon, his majesty, of his grace, granted to all men at his first entrance into his kingdom, under the name of Henry Garnet of London, gent., but therein he never used any of his alias *dictus* Walley, Far-

mer, or any other of his feigned names. But Catesby, fearing lest any of those whom he had or should take into confederacy, being touched in conscience with the horror of so damnable a fact, might give it over, and endanger the discovery of the plot, seeks Garnet, as being the Superior of the Jesuits, and therefore of high estimation and authority amongst all those of the Romish religion, to have his judgment and resolution in conscience concerning the lawfulness of the fact, that thereby he might be able to give satisfaction to any who should scruple to go forward in that treason. And therefore Catesby coming to Garnet, propounded unto him the case, and asked whether, for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause against heretics (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring), it be lawful or not, amongst many *nocents*, to destroy and take away *innocents* also. To this question Garnet advisedly and resolvedly answered, that if the advantage were greater on the Catholic part by taking away some innocents together with many nocents, then doubtless it should be lawful to kill and destroy them all; and to this purpose he alleged a comparison of a town or city which was possessed by an enemy, if at the time of taking thereof there happen to be some few friends within the place, they must undergo the fortune of the wars in the general and common destruction of the enemy. And this resolution of Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits, was the strongest and the only bond, whereby Catesby afterwards kept and retained all the traitors in that so abominable and detestable a confederacy. For in March following, Catesby, Thomas Winter, and others, resolve upon the Powder Plot, and Fawkes, as being a man unknown, and withal a desperate person and a soldier, was resolved upon as fit for executing it; to which purpose he was, in April following, by Thomas Winter sought and fetched out of Flanders into England. In May, in the second year of his majesty, Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes meet, and having, upon the holy Evangelists, taken an oath of secrecy and constancy to this effect:—

“You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to

keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave."

They all were confessed, had absolution, and received thereupon the sacrament, by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit, then present. In June following, Catesby and Greenwel, the Jesuit, confer about the Powder treason; and at Midsummer, Catesby speaking with Garnet of the Powder treason, they said it was so secret, as that it must prevail before it could be discovered. Then Garnet seemed to desire that the Pope's consent might be obtained; but Catesby answered, that he took that as granted by the Pope in the two bulls or briefs before; for, said he, if it be lawful not to receive or to repel him, as the said bulls or briefs import, then it is lawful also to repel or cast him out. On the 7th of July, 1604, the Parliament was prorogued until the 7th of February; and in November following, Thomas Bates being, as has been declared more fully in the former arraignment, fetched in by Catesby his master, to participate in the Powder treason, for better assurance of his secrecy and prosecution thereof, is by Greenwel the Jesuit confessed, encouraged, and told; that, being for a good cause, he might and ought not only conceal it, as committed unto him in secret by his master, but further said, that it was no offence at all, but justifiable and good. About this time was Robert Keyes taken into confederacy, and by Catesby informed of the lawfulness thereof from the Jesuits.

On the 11th of December they entered the mine; and in March following, which was in 1605, was Guy Fawkes sent over to Sir William Stanley with letters from Garnet, to Baldwin, the Legier Jesuit, there to take order that, against the time of the blow, the forces might be brought near to the sea side, to the end that they might suddenly be transported into England. And there doth Fawkes, by consent of the confederates, give Owen the oath of secrecy, and acquaints him with the whole treason; who, having been a most malicious and inveterate traitor, greatly applauded it, and gave his consent and counsel for the furtherance thereof. In May, 1605, fell out certain broils in Wales by the Romish Catholics, at which time also Rookwood was by Catesby acquainted with the Powder

treason, and resolved of the lawfulness of the fact by him as from the Jesuits. Now doth Garnet write to the Pope that commands might come from his holiness, or else from Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, for staying all commotions of the Catholics here in England, intending indeed to set their whole rest of the Catholic cause upon the Powder Plot, and in the meantime to lull us asleep in security, in respect of their dissembled quietness and conformity, as also lest impediment might be offered to this main plot by reason of any suspicion of the stirring up of Papists, or inquiry into any petty commotions or broils. But when he further desired that it might be so enjoined upon censures, the request was not granted, lest it might indeed be an impediment to the Powder Plot.

In June following doth Greenwel, the Jesuit, consult with Garnet his Superior, of the whole course of the Powder treason at large. Wherein observe the politic and subtile dealing of this Garnet. First he would not, as he saith, confer it with a layman (other than Catesby, whom he so much trusted). Why so? because that he might derogate from the reverence of his place. That a Jesuit, and a Superior of them, should openly join with laymen in cause of so much blood; and therefore, secondly, as he would consult it with a priest, and a Jesuit, one of his own order and his subject; so for his further security, he would consult thereof with Greenwel, the Jesuit, as in a disguised confession. And being informed that the discourse would be too long to repeat kneeling, he answered that he would consult with him of it in confession walking; and so accordingly, in an ambulatory confession, he at large discoursed with him of the whole plot of the Powder treason; and that a Protector (after the blow given) should be chosen out of such of the nobility as should be warned and reserved.

In this month likewise was there a great conference and consultation betwixt Garnet, Catesby, and Francis Tresham, concerning the strength of the Catholics in England, to the end that Garnet might, by letters, send direct advertisement thereof to the Pope; for that his holiness would not show his inclination concerning any commotion or rising of the Catholics, until he should be informed certainly that they had sufficient and able force to prevail.

And in August following, Garnet, in a conference held about acquainting the Pope with the Powder treason, named and appointed Sir Edmund Baynham to carry that message to the Pope, yet not to him as Pope, but to him as a temporal prince; and by him doth Garnet write letters in that behalf; as also for staying commotions, under pain of censures, well knowing that before his letters could be answered, the House of Parliament (according to their designs) should have been blown up, and the whole state overthrown. In this month also doth Garnet write to Baldwin, the Legier Jesuit in the Low Countries, on the behalf of Catesby, that Owen should move the marquess for a regiment of horses for him the said Catesby—not with any intent, as it was agreed, that Catesby should undertake any such charge; but that, under colour of it, horses and other necessities might be provided without suspicion to furnish the traitors. In September following doth Parsons the Jesuit write to Garnet to know the particulars of the project in hand, for the journey to Saint Winifrid's Well in this month. It was but a jargon, to have a better opportunity by colour thereof, to confer and retire themselves to those parts. In October doth Garnet meet the other traitors at Coughton in Warwickshire, which was the place of rendezvous, whither they resorted out of all countries. Upon the first of November Garnet openly prayeth for the good success of the great action, concerning the Catholic cause in the beginning of the Parliament; and prayer is more than consent. For, "*Nemo orat sed qui sperat et credit.*" He in the prayer used two verses of a hymn, "*Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter.*"

Now, by the letter left with the Lord Mounteagle, whose memory shall be blessed, on the fourth of November, by the providence of the Almighty, not many hours before the treason should have been executed, was it fully discovered.

On the fifth of November, being the time when the traitors expected that their devilish practice should have taken effect, they convened at Dunchurch, under colour of a great hunting match, appointed by Sir Everard Digby, as being a man of quality and account thereabout

purposing by this means to furnish themselves with company for their intended insurrection and rebellion; for that men being gathered together, and a tumult suddenly raised, the traitors thought that most of them would follow the present fortune, and be easily persuaded to take part with them, and that they might easily surprise the person of the Lady Elizabeth, then in those parts, in the Lord Harrington's house.

Upon the sixth of November, early in the morning, Catesby and the said confederates dispatched Thomas Bates with a letter to Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits, who was, as they well knew, then ready at Coulton, near them, earnestly entreating his help and assistance for the raising of Wales, and putting so many as he could into open rebellion. At which time Garnet and Greenwel, who then of purpose was there with Garnet, certainly perceiving that the plot was indeed discovered, and knowing themselves to be the chief authors thereof, prophesied the overthrow of the whole order of the Jesuits. But Greenwel, the Jesuit, being carried with a more violent and fiery spirit, posteth up and down, to incite such as he could to rise up in open rebellion. And meeting in Master Abington's house with Hall, another Jesuit, adviseth him, the said Hall, likewise to lose no time, but forthwith to seek and stir up so many as he could. But Hall, seeming to deliberate, either seeing no end of so rash an attempt, or fearing by that means to be himself apprehended, Tesmond told him that he was a phlegmatic fellow, and said, a man may herein see the difference betwixt a phlegmatic man (such as he meant Hall was) and a choleric, as he said himself was; and further added, that he was resolved to do his best endeavours for the raising of a rebellion, under this false pretext: that it was concluded that the throats of all the Catholics in England should be cut. And with this device he posted away into the county of Lancaster. Afterwards, Hall, the Jesuit, otherwise called Oldcorn, being urged by Humphrey Littleton with the evil success of their intended treason, that surely God was displeased and offended with such bloody and barbarous courses, instead of an humble acknowledgment of the justice of God, and a sense of the wickedness of the treason, fell rather Satanically to argue

for the justification of the same, and said: Ye must not judge the cause by the event; for the eleven Tribes of Israel were by God himself commanded to go and fight against Benjamin, yet were they twice overthrown. So Lewis of France, fighting against the Turk, his army was scattered, and himself died of the plague. And lastly, the Christians defending Rhodes were by the Turks overcome. And these he applied to the Powder treason, and persuaded Littleton not to judge it ungodly or unlawful by the event.

Observe here a double consequence of this Powder treason:—1. Open rebellion, as hath been showed both immediately before, and more at large in the former arraignment; and since that blasphemy in Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits; for he, having liberty in the Tower to write, and sending a letter (which letter was openly showed in the court before him) to an acquaintance of his in the Gatehouse, there was nothing therein to be seen but ordinary matter; but in the margin, which he made very great and spacious, he wrote cunningly, with the juice of an orange or of a lemon, to publish his innocency, and concerning his usage; and there denieth those things which before he had freely and voluntarily confessed, and said, that for the Spanish treason he was freed by his majesty's pardon, and as for the Powder treason, he hoped, for want of proof against him, to avoid that well enough; but concludeth blasphemously, applying the words which were spoken of our blessed Saviour to himself in this damnable treason, and saith: *Necesse est ut unus homo moriatur pro populo*; it is necessary that one man die for the people; which words Caiphas spake of Christ. Wherein note his prevarication and equivocation; for before the Lords Commissioners he fully and freely confessed his treasons, being, as himself under his own hand confessed, overwhelmed *tantâ nube testium*, and yet *ad faciendum populum*, in his letters which he wrote abroad, he cleareth himself of the Powder treason. And thus much concerning the two circumstances subsequent, which were rebellion and blasphemy.

The circumstances concurring are concerning the persons offending and offended. For the principal person

offending here at the bar is, as you have heard, a man o many names : Garnet, Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer Phillips. And surely I have not commonly known or observed a true man that hath had so many false appellations. He is by country an Englishman, by birth a gentleman by education a scholar, afterwards a corrector of the common law print, with Mr. Tottle the printer, and now is to be corrected by the law. He hath many gifts and endowments of nature, by art learned, a good linguist, and by profession a Jesuit and a Superior, as indeed he is superior to all his predecursors in devilish treason ; a Doctor o Jesuits, that is, a doctor of five D's ; as dissimulation, deposing of princes, disposing of kingdoms, daunting and deterring of subjects, and destruction. Their dissimulation appeareth out of their doctrine of equivocation, concerning which it was thought fit to touch something of that which was more copiously delivered in the former arraignment, in respect of the presence of Garnet there, who was the Superior of the Jesuits in England, concerning the Treatise of Equivocation, seen and allowed by Garnet, and by Blackwell the arch-priest : wherein, under the pretext of the lawfulness of a mixed proposition, to express one part of a man's mind and retain another, people are indeed taught not only simple lying, but fearful and damnable blasphemy. And whereas the Jesuits ask why we convict and condemn them not for heresy, it is for that they will equivocate, and so cannot that way be tried or judged according to their words.

Now, for the antiquity of equivocation, it is indeed very old, within little more than three hundred years after Christ, used by Arius the heretic (Socrat. Hist.), who having in a general council been condemned, and then by the commandment of Constantine the Emperor sent into exile, was by the said Emperor, upon instant intercession for him, and promise of his future conformity to the Nicene faith, recalled again : who returning home, and having before craftily set down in writing his heretical belief, and put it into his bosom, when he came into the presence of the emperor, and had the Nicene faith propounded unto him, and was thereupon asked, whether he then did indeed, and so constantly would hold that faith ; he (clapping his

hand upon his bosom where his paper lay) answered and vowed, that he did, and so would constantly profess and hold that faith (laying his hand on his bosom where the paper of his heresy lay), meaning fraudulently, by the way of equivocation, that faith of his own, which he had written and carried in his bosom. For these Jesuits, they indeed make no vow of speaking truth, and yet even this equivocating and lying is a kind of unchastity, against which they vow and promise: for, as it hath been said of old, "*Cor linguæ fœderat naturæ sanctio, veluti in quodam certo connubio: ergo cum dissonent cor et loquutio, sermo concipitur in adulterio,*"—that is, the law and sanction of nature hath, as it were, married the heart and tongue, by joining and knitting of them together in a certain kind of marriage; and therefore when there is discord between them two, the speech that proceeds from them, is said to be conceived in adultery; and he that breeds such bastard children, offends against chastity. But note the heavy and woful fruit of this doctrine of equivocation. Francis Tresham being near his natural death in the Tower, from charity his wife was permitted, for his comfort, to come unto him: who understanding that her husband had before directly and truly accused Garnet of the Spanish treason, lest belike her husband should depart this life, with a conscience that he had revealed anything concerning the Superior of the Jesuits, drew him, a very little before he died, to this, that his own hand being so feeble as that he could not write himself, yet he caused his servant then attending on him, to write that which he did dictate, and therein protested upon his salvation, that he had not seen the said Garnet sixteen years before, and thereupon prayed that his former confession to the contrary might in no wise take place. And that this paper of his retraction, which he had weakly, and dyingly subscribed, might, after his death, be delivered to the Earl of Salisbury: whereas Master Garnet himself hath clearly confessed the Spanish treason, and now acknowledged the same at the bar; and he and Mistress Vaux and others directly confess and say, that Garnet and Tresham had within two years' space been very often together, and also many times before. But *qualis vita, finis ita*. And Garnet himself

being at the bar afterwards, urged to say what he thought of such the departure of Francis Tresham out of this life, answered only this, I think he meant to equivocate. Thus were they stained with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions, as it is in the Psalm. So that this is indeed *gens perfida*, according to the hymn, a perfidious people, and therefore "Jurat? crede minùs, non jurat? credere noli. Jurat, non jurat hostis, ab hoste cave."

For their doctrine of deposing of princes, Simanca and Philopater are plain, as hath in the former arraignment been more amply declared, and was now again at large to Garnet's face repeated. If a prince be a heretic, then he is excommunicated, cursed, and deposed, his children deprived of all their right of succession, himself not to be restored to his temporal estate upon repentance; and by a heretic they profess that he is intended and meant, namely, whosoever doth not hold the religion of the Church of Rome. Nay, there is an easier and a more expedient way than all these to fetch off the crown from the head of any king christened whatsoever, which is this, that "princeps indulgendo hæreticis amittit regnum," if any prince shall but tolerate or favour heretics, he loseth his kingdom; nay, whereas Garnet, in defence of this usurped power of the high priest of Rome, alleged, "nos sanctorum," &c., out of the decretals, in the very next title before that, there is another decree that passeth all we have recited, wherein it is showed, that Zachary, the pope, deposed Childerick of France, for nothing else there specified, "sed quia inutilis," but only for that he was reputed unprofitable to govern. Now, as concerning their daunting and deterring of subjects, which is a part of the Jesuits' profession, it were good that they would know and remember how that the most noble and famous kings of England never were afraid of Pope's bulls—no, not in the very midnight of Popery, as Edward the Confessor, Henry I., Edward I., Richard II., Henry V., Henry IV., &c. And in the time of Henry VII., and in all their times, the Pope's legate never passed Calais, but stayed there, and came not to England until he had taken a solemn oath to do nothing to the detriment of the crown or state.

For the persons offended, they were these : first, the king, of whom I have spoken often, but never enough ; a king of high and most noble ancient descent, as hath been briefly declared, and in himself full of all imperial virtues, — religion, justice, clemency, learning, wisdom, memory, affability, and the rest. Then the queen, and she in respect of her happy fruitfulness, is a great blessing, in so much that of her in that respect may be said that she is, “*ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima prole,*” great in birth, greater in marriage, but to all posterity greatest in the blessed fruit of her womb, as having brought forth the greatest prince that ever England had. Thirdly, the noble prince, of whom we may say with the poet, “*Quæ te tam lata tulere secula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?*” Never prince, true heir apparent to the imperial crown, had such a father, nor ever king had such a son. Then the whole royal issue, the council, the nobility, the clergy, nay our religion itself, and specially this city of London, that is famous for her riches, more famous for her people, having above five hundred thousand souls within her and her liberties, most famous for her fidelity, and more than most famous of all the cities in the world for her true religion and service of God. Hold up thy head, noble city, and advance thyself, for that never was thy brow blotted with the least taint, or touch, or suspicion of disloyalty ; thou mayest truly say with the prophet David, “*I will take no wicked thing in hand, I hate the sin of unfaithfulness, there shall no such cleave unto me ;*” therefore for thy fidelity thou art honoured with the title of “*The King’s Chamber,*” as an inward place of his greatest safety ; and for thy comfort and joy this day hath Britain’s great king honoured thee with the proceeding upon this great and honourable Commission. After the heavy and doleful rumours the other day, when it was certainly known that King James was in safety, well did the fidelity of this city appear (whereof I was an eye-witness), “*Una voce conclamaverunt omnes, salva Londinum, salva patria, salva religio ; Jacobus Rex noster salvus :*” our city, our country, our religion is safe, for our King James is in safety.

The observations are many, and only in a word to be

touched. The first is, That in the Spanish treason before mentioned, and this Powder treason, there was the same order, cause, and end. The order was, first, To deal by secret practice and treason, and then by force and invasion. The cause which they pretend, was the Romish Catholic religion; the end was the final destruction of the royal succession, yea, even *occidere regnum*, to overthrow and dissolve the whole kingdom. Secondly, That even the enemy hath acknowledged that our state is so settled and established, as neither strength nor stratagem can prevail, unless there be a party made in England. Thirdly, We shall never have bull more to come from Rome to England, because they shall never have a party strong enough to encounter with so many lions. Fourthly, All their canons, decrees, and new-found doctrines tend to one of these two ends: either worldly pride, or wicked policy, for the amplitude and enlargement of the Pope's authority, and for the safety of the Jesuits, priests, &c. Fifthly, Observe that Baynham, a layman, and one of the damned crew, and so naming himself, was sent to inform the Pope as a temporal prince. Sixthly, I conceive their fall to be near at hand, both by divinity and by philosophy. For the first, there are now in England about four hundred priests: so many were there in Israel in the days of Achab. Who, saith God, "shall go and deceive Achab, that he may fall?" A lying spirit in the mouths of his four hundred prophets undertook and effected it; their fall was near, when once a lying spirit had possessed the priests, according to the vision of Micheas, as now it hath possessed the Jesuits.

2. The imitation of good for the most part comes short of the pattern; but the imitation of evil ever exceeds the example. Now, no imitation can exceed this fact, and therefore their time is at an end. Seventhly, Many condemn it now that would have commended it if it had taken effect; for this, say they, is "*Enumero eorum quæ non laudantur nisi peracta.*" Eighthly, They and their adherents spread abroad false rumours, as that the king should have broken promise with them concerning toleration; which mixture of God's service rather than he would suffer, he would lose children, crown, life, and all; nay, they may see there is no such hope left, for that his majesty bringeth

up his royal issue in the true religion and service of the Almighty. Lastly, Observe the wonderful providence of God in the admirable discovery of this Superior Jesuit to be party to this treason, and that in many respects. First, In respect of the means of secresy used by him in conference only with Catesby of the laity. Secondly, They had a strong and a deep oath given them both for secresy and perseverance. Thirdly, They hereupon received the holy sacrament. Fourthly, They were allowed and taught by the Jesuits to equivocate upon oath, salvation, or otherwise, and how then should it be discovered? Fifthly. Their secret intelligence was such as that it was impossible by the wit of man to be found out; and, therefore, the second thing is how this treason, being long since plotted, the providence of God did continually from time to time divert and put off the executing thereof, by unexpected putting off the times of assembly in Parliament. For the Parliament begun the 19th of March in the first year of his majesty's reign, and continued till the 7th of July following, before which time the conspirators could not be ready. From thence it was prorogued until the 7th of February, against which time they could not make the mine ready, in respect that they could not dig there, for that the Commissioners of the Union sat near the place, and the wall was thick, and therefore they could not be provided before the 7th of February; and on the 7th of February the Parliament was prorogued until the 5th of October. After this they found another course, and altered the place from the mine to the cellar. Oh, blessed change of so wicked a work! Oh, but these fatal engineers are not yet discovered, and yet all things are prepared. Oh! prorogue it once more; and accordingly God put it into his majesty's heart (having then not the least suspicion of any such matter) to prorogue the Parliament, and further to open and enlighten his understanding, out of a mystical and dark letter, like an angel of God to point to the cellar, and command it to be searched, so that it was discovered thus miraculously, but even a few hours before the design should have been executed.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, "Qui cum Jesu itis, non itis cum Jesuitis:" for they encourage themselves

in mischief, and commune among themselves secretly, how they may lay snares, and say that no man shall see them. But God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow, that they shall be wounded; insomuch, that whoso seeth it shall say, This hath God done, for they shall perceive that it is his work.

Then were repeated the proofs for every of the particular accusations aforesaid, by the express and voluntary confessions of Garnet, and of his complices themselves, and of two credible witnesses sworn at the bar, and openly heard *viva voce*, and acknowledged by Garnet himself to be men without exception.

Then MR. GARNET having license of the Court to answer what he could for himself, spake, and divided all which had been objected, as far as he recollected, into four parts, viz.—

Containing	{	1. Doctrine.
matter of		2. Recusants.
		3. Jesuits in general.
		4. Himself in particular.

In Doctrine he remembered two points:—

1. Concerning equivocation, to which he answered that their church condemned all lying, but especially if it be in cause of religion and faith, that being the most pernicious lie of all others, and by St. Augustine condemned in the Priscillianists; nay, to lie in any cause is held a sin and evil. Howsoever, of eight degrees which St. Augustine maketh, the lowest indeed is to lie to procure the good of some without hurting of any. So then our equivocation is not to maintain lying, but to defend the use of certain propositions. For a man may be asked of one who hath no authority to interrogate, or examined concerning something which belongeth not to his cognisance who asketh, as what a man thinketh, &c. So then no man may equivocate when he ought to tell the truth; otherwise he may. And so St. Augustine upon John saith, that Christ denied he knew the day of judgment, viz., with purpose to tell it to his disciples; and so St. Thomas and others, who handle

this matter chiefly under the title of confession. 2. For the second point, which was the power of the Pope in deposing of princes, his answer was threefold. (1.) That therein he only propounded and followed the general doctrine of the church. (2.) That this doctrine of the power of the Pope was by all other Catholic princes tolerated without grievance. (3.) That yet, for his own part, he always made a difference in the matter of excommunicating and deposing of princes, betwixt the condition and state of our king, and of others, who having once been Catholics, did, or shall afterwards fall back. As for Simanca and other writers, whatsoever they set down as to the deposing of heretics, it is to be understood of those princes who, having sometimes professed the faith of the church of Rome, do afterwards made a defection from the same.

2. For recusants. 1. I desire them not to impute any offence or crime of mine to the prejudice of the cause of religion. 2. Concerning their not going to church, whereas it was urged by Mr. Attorney, that the grounds of their not going to church was the excommunication and bull of Pius Quintus, and that now they may go, for that his majesty is not denounced excommunicate. I answer, that it followeth not; for the Arians and Catholics had the same service in their churches, yet came they not together. And I know divers myself, who before that bull refused to go to church all the time of Queen Elizabeth, though perhaps most Catholics did indeed go to church, before it was about the end of the council of Trent, where this matter was discussed by twelve learned men, and concluded not lawful. And this was occasioned, for that Calvin himself held it not lawful for any Protestant to be present, not only at our mass, wherein perhaps they may say there is idolatry, but not at our even-song, being the same with theirs.

3. Concerning the Jesuits, he said, that if any were privy to such horrible treasons, it was impious, especially in men of their profession; but said that he talked with some of them about it, and that they denied it.

4. Touching myself, the negotiation into Spain was indeed propounded unto me, and I was also acquainted with the negotiation for money, but ever intending it should be bestowed for the relief of poor Catholics. But when

they were there, they moved for an army, which, when they afterwards acquainted me with, I disliked it, and said it would be much disliked at Rome. Only I must confess I did conceal it, after the example of Christ, who commands us when our brother offends to reprove him, for if he do amend we have gained him; yet I must confess that the laws made against such concealing are very good and just, for it is not fit the safety of a prince should depend upon any other man's conscience; so that I am verily persuaded, if they yielded to me, it had been good. But what their intent and meaning was in desiring an army I knew not; and I was charged not to meddle therein, no, not with the money which was to be sent for pensions, though it was to maintain the title of the king.

The Earl of Salisbury then demanded—To maintain whose title?

Garnet answered—The title of the King of Spain.

The Earl of Northampton asked him, why he did not oppose it, and forbid it, as he might have done? For, "*Qui cum possit non prohibet, jubet.*"

Whereupon Garnet answered—That he might not do it; and for sending of letters, and commending some persons thereby, he confessed he did it often, as they were commended to him, without knowing either their purposes, or some of their persons; for he never knew Mr. Wright for whom he wrote.

The Earl of Salisbury then replied to Garnet—I must now remind you how little any of your answers can make for your purpose, when you would seek to colour your dealing with Baynham by professing to write to Rome to procure a countermand of conspiracies. And yet you know, when he took his journey towards Rome, the blow must needs have been passed before the time he could have arrived to the Pope's presence, such being your zeal and his haste for any such prevention, as it was about the 20th of our October when he passed by Florence towards Rome.

To which Garnet made no great answer, but let it pass. And then went on with his defence of sending letters in commendation of many of those with which he had been formerly charged; and so confessed, that he had written in commendation of Fawkes, thinking that he went to

serve as a soldier, not knowing then of any other purpose he had in hand. And as for Sir Edmund Baynham, what he or Mr. Catesby intended, he knew not in particular; only Mr. Catesby asked him in general the question, of the lawfulness to destroy innocents with nocents, which at first, I thought, said Garnet, had been an idle question, though afterwards I did verily think he intended something that was not good. Whereupon having shortly after this received letters from Rome to prohibit all insurrections intended by Catholics, which might perturb this state, Garnet informed Catesby thereof, and told him, that if he proceeded against the Pope's will, he could not prevail. But Catesby refused, and said, he would not take notice of the Pope's pleasure by him. Notwithstanding he showed to Catesby the general letter which he had received from Rome; but said he would inform the Pope, and tell Garnet also in particular, what attempt he had in hand, if he would hear it; which afterwards he offered to do, but Garnet refused to hear him, and at two several times requested him to certify to the Pope what he intended to do.

And when Sir Edmund Baynham, as he pretended, was to go over into Flanders for a soldier, Garnet thought good to send him to the Pope's nuncio, and to commend him to other friends of his, that they should send him to inform the Pope of the distressed estate of the Catholics in England; the rather, that the Pope, having a layman there, might be acquainted with all their proceedings; and that Baynham might then learn of the Pope what course he would advise the Catholics in England to take for their own good; but wished Baynham in no case to use Garnet's name to the nuncio in that behalf.

Then were the two witnesses called for, both of them persons of good estimation, that overheard the interlocution betwixt Garnet and Hall, the Jesuit, viz., Mr. Fauset, a man learned and a justice of the peace, and Mr. Lockerson. But Mr. Fauset, not being present, was sent for to appear; and, in the meantime, Mr. Lockerson, who being deposed before Garnet, delivered upon his oath, that they heard Garnet say to Hall, "They will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action in the be-

ginning of Parliament, and with the verses which I added in the end of my prayer—

‘Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Christo laudes debitas,
Persolvamus alacriter.’ ”

“It is true indeed (said Garnet) that I prayed for the good success of that great action ; but I will tell them that I meant it in respect of some sharper laws, which I feared they would then make against Catholics ; and that answer shall serve well enough.

Here Garnet replied—That for the two gentlemen that heard the interlocation, he would not charge them with perjury, because he knew them to be honest men ; yet he thought they did mistake some things, though in the substantial parts, he confessed, he could not deny their relation. And for the main plot, he confessed, that he was therewith acquainted by Greenwell particularly, and that Greenwell came perplexed to open something to him which Mr. Catesby, with divers others, intended : to whom he said—He was contented to hear by him what it was, so as he would not be known to Mr. Catesby, or to any other, that he was made privy to it. Whereupon Father Greenwell told him the whole plot, and all the particulars thereof, with which he protested that he was very much distempered, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes prayed to God that it should not take effect.

To that the Earl of Salisbury replied—That he would do well to speak clearly of his devotion in that point ; for, otherwise, he must put him in remembrance, that he had confessed to the Lords that he had offered sacrifice to God for stay of that plot, unless it were for the good of the Catholic cause ; and in no other fashion (said his lordship) was this State beholding to you for your masses and oblations. Adding thus much further, that he wondered why he would not write to his Superior Aquaviva, as well of this particular Powder treason, as to procure prohibition for other smaller matters.

Garnet faintly answered—He might not disclose it to any, because it was matter of secret confession, and would endanger the life of divers men.

Whereunto the Earl of Northampton replied—That that matter of confession, which before he refused to confess, because he would save lives, he confessed now to endanger his own life; and therefore his former answer was idle and frivolous.

Then Garnet told the lords that he commanded Greenwell to dissuade Catesby, which he thought he did; and if Catesby had come to him upon Allhallow Day, he thought he could so far have ruled him as he would have been persuaded to desist.

Then said the Earl of Salisbury, Why did you refuse to hear Catesby tell you all the particulars, when he would have told you, if you had been desirous to prevent it?

Garnet replied, that after Greenwell had told him what it was which Catesby intended, and that he called to mind what Catesby said to him, at his first breaking with him, in general terms, his soul was so troubled with dislike of the particulars, that he was loath to hear any more of it.

Well, then, said the Earl of Salisbury, you see his heart. And then, turning to the Lords Commissioners, he desired leave of them that he might use some speech concerning the proceeding of the state in this great cause, from the first beginning until that hour; and so began to this effect,—That although the evidence had been so well distributed and opened by Mr. Attorney, as he had never heard such a mass of matter better contracted, nor made more intelligible to the jury, to whom it was not his part to speak, nor his purpose to meddle with Mr. Garnet in divinity, or in the doctrine of Equivocation, in which latter he saw how he had played his masterpiece, yet because he had been particularly employed in this service with other of the Lords Commissioners, by whom nothing was more desired, next the glory of God, than to demonstrate to the world with what sincerity and moderation his majesty's justice was carried in all points, he would be bold to say somewhat of the manner of this arraignment, and of the place where it was appointed. For the first, he said, that seeing there was nothing to which this state might more attribute the infinite goodness and blessings of God,

than to the protection of the true religion, which had groaned so long under the bitter persecutions of men of his profession; he confessed that he held himself greatly honoured to be an assistant amongst so many great lords at the seat of justice, where God's cause should receive so much honour, by discrediting the person of Garnet, on whom the common adversary had thought to confer the usurpation of such an eminent jurisdiction. For otherwise, who did not know that the quality of poor Henry Garnet might have undergone a more ordinary form of trial, and happily in some other place of less note and observation? And so his lordship took an occasion to declare, that the city of London was so dear to the king, and his majesty so desirous to give it all honour and comfort, as when this opportunity was put into his hands, whereby there might be made so visible an anatomy of Popish doctrine, from whence these treasons have their source and support, he thought he could not choose a fitter stage than the City of London, which was not only rightly termed the chamber of his empire, but was by his majesty esteemed as his greatest and safest treasury, who accounteth no riches comparable to his subjects' hearts. To you, therefore, Mr. Garnet, said the Earl of Salisbury, must I address myself, as the man in whom it appeareth best what horrible treasons have been covered under the mantle of religion, which heretofore had been petty-treason for a Protestant to have affirmed; such hath been the iniquity of false tongues, who have always sought to prove truth a lie; of which impudent calumnies the state is so tender, as you do best know, Mr. Garnet, that since your apprehension, even till this day, you have been as Christianly, as courteously, and as carefully used, as ever man could be, of any quality, or any profession. Yea, it may truly be said, that you have been as well attended for health, or otherwise, as a nurse-child. Is it true, or no? said the earl.

It is most true, my lord, said Garnet; I confess it.

Well, then, said the earl, if your strange doctrine of equivocation be observed, and your hardness of heart to deny all things, let it not be forgotten, that this interlocution of yours with Hall, overheard by others, appears to

be *digitus Dei*, for thereby had the Lords some proof of matter against you, which must have been discovered otherwise by violence and coercion, a matter ordinary in other kingdoms, though now forborne here; but it is better as it is for the honour of the state, for so were your own words, that you thought it best to tell the truth at last, when you saw you were confounded, *tanta nube testium* (so great a cloud of witnesses). In which I protest, that I do confidently assure myself that you would as easily have confessed yourself to be author of all the action, as the concealer, but that his majesty and my lords were well contented to draw all from you without racking, or any such bitter torments. Then speaking to Garnet, he said, I pray you, Mr. Garnet, what encouraged Catesby that he might proceed, but your resolving him in the first proposition? What warranted Fawkes, but Catesby's explication of Garnet's arguments—as appears infallibly by Winter's confession, and by Fawkes, that they knew the point had been resolved to Mr. Catesby, by the best authority?

Then Garnet answered, that Mr. Catesby was to blame to make such application.

To that the Earl replied, that he must needs be bold with him, to drive him from reposing on satisfying the world by his denials, by putting him in mind how, after the interlocution betwixt him and Hall, when he was called before all the lords, and was asked, not what he said, but whether Hall and he had conference together, desiring him not to equivocate; how stiffly he denied it, upon his soul, reiterating it with so many detestable execrations, as the earl said, it wounded their hearts to hear him; and yet, as soon as Hall had confessed it, he grew ashamed, crying the lords' mercy, and said he had offended, if equivocation did not help him.

To this Garnet answered, that when one is asked a question before a magistrate, he was not bound to answer before some witnesses be produced against him, "*quia nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.*" Then Garnet falling into some professions of his well-wishing to his majesty, and being put in mind of the answer he had made concerning the excommunication of kings, wherein he referred himself to the canon of "*Nos sanctorum,*" he answered, that his majesty was not yet excommunicated.

Then the Earl of Salisbury bade him deal plainly, for now was the time, whether in case the Pope, *per sententiam orthodoxam*, should excommunicate the king's majesty of Great Britain, his subjects were bound to continue their obedience?

To this he denied to answer, from which the hearers might know his mind. He then began to make request, that where he had confessed the receiving of two briefs or bulls from the Pope in the queen's time, by which all Catholics were forbidden to adhere to any successor that was not obedient to the church of Rome, his majesty would be pleased to make a favourable interpretation, because he had showed them to very few Catholics in England in the queen's time, and when he understood that the Pope had changed his mind, then he burnt the bulls.

To that it was said, that belike the Pope changed his mind when the king was so safely possessed of his estate, and Garnet with his accomplices began to feel their own impiety; and so, as Catesby said to Percy, did resolve roundly of that treason, which would speed all at once.

Then Garnet began to use some speeches, that he was not consenting to the Powder treason.

Whereupon the Earl of Salisbury said, Mr. Garnet, give me but one argument that you were not consenting to it, that can hold in any indifferent man's ear or sense, besides your bare negative. But Garnet replied not.

Then Mr. Attorney spake in answer of Garnet more particularly to this effect. 1. For equivocation, it is true, indeed, that they do outwardly to the world condemn lying and perjury, because the contrary were too palpable, and would make them odious to all men; but it is open and broad lying and forswearing, not secret and close lying and perjury, or swearing a falsehood which is most abominable, and without defence or example. And if they allow it not generally in others, yet at least in themselves, their confederates, and associates in treasonable practices, they will both warrant and defend it, especially when it may serve their turn, for such purposes and ends as they look after. 2. Concerning the usurped power of the Pope in deposing of princes, neither is it the general doctrine of the church, as he falsely said, neither allowed or tolerated by all princes, who are otherwise of their religion,

as may appear out of the French discourse written to the French king against the re-admitting of the Jesuitical faction. And whereas he would pick a thank, in seeming to spare and exempt King James our sovereign, it is not possible to avoid their distinction of being excommunicated *de jure*, if not *de facto*; howsoever, if it be true also that the Pope doth, *de facto*, every year once curse all heretics. For recusants not going to church; the example of the Catholics not joining in service and prayer with the Arians, who denied a main article of the Christian creed, doth no ways hold, neither can it agree to us, of whom no such impious blasphemy can be showed or imagined. That Garnet knew some, who, before the bull came, went not to church, may be true, perhaps, in some one or two perverted men like himself. But whereas he produced the Council of Trent, as if there the matter had been determined, and thereupon inferreth that, after that all Catholics refused to meet with us at church in time of prayer, it is a gross error; for the last session of that council was in the year of our Lord 1563, which was in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth; whereas I showed, and am able to justify and prove, that their Romish English Catholics came to our service in our churches until the nineteenth year of her majesty, which was many years after that council was ended.

Concerning Garnet himself. 1. As to the answer that he knew of the Powder treason by confession; it is true, which before was spoken, that such acts as this is, "*non laudantur nisi peracta*," are then only commended when they are performed; but otherwise, first, Greenwell's was no sacramental confession, for that the confitent was not penitent: nay, himself hath clearly delivered under his hand, that the Powder treason was told him, not as a fault, but by way of consultation and advice. 2. It was a future thing to be done, and not already then executed. 3. Greenwel told it not of himself that he should do it, but of Fawkes, Percy, Catesby, Winter, and others; and therefore he ought to have discovered them, for that they were no confitents. 4. He might and ought to have discovered the mischief, for preservation of the state, though he had concealed the persons. 5. Catesby told it unto him *extra*

confessionem, out of confession, saying, they might as well turn him out, as have kept him out. Lastly, by the common law, howsoever it were (it being *crimen læsæ majestatis*) he ought to have disclosed it. Now for that Garnet denied that he was a principal author and procurer of this treason, but only that he had received knowledge thereof, the contrary is clear and manifest, both out of his own confessions, by himself acknowledged, and apparently proved, in that he resolved Catesby concerning the lawfulness and merit thereof, and that he prayed for the good success of the Powder treason, which is more than either consultation or consent. Besides, he must remember him of the old versicle, “Qui non prohibet quod prohibere potest, consentire videtur.” Garnet might have commanded Greenwell that told him of the Powder treason to have desisted, but did not; but Greenwell went still on with the treason, and when it was disclosed, went into the country to move rebellion, which doubtless he would never have done if Garnet had forbidden him; therefore, he said, he might say with the orator Tully, “Cui adsunt testimonia rerum, quid opus est verbis?” Moreover, Mr. Attorney added, how Garnet wrote first for Thomas Winter, then for Kit Wright, after that for Guy Fawkes, then for Sir Edward Baynham, and afterwards for Catesby for a regiment of horse; and that Garnet was for the Infanta, and by his briefs intended to keep out the king, except he should tolerate and swear to maintain the Romish religion.

By this time Mr. Fauset arrived, who, being deposed, affirmed likewise, that their examination, and the matter therein contained, were true; saying further, that both of them took notes of what they heard of Garnet and Hall, as near as possibly they could, and set down nothing in their examinations but what both their notes and recollection confirmed; and that many things that were very material were left out of their examinations, because their notes and memories did not perfectly agree therein.

And now one of the letters, which were written with sack, was showed to the court, by which it appeared that Hall and Garnet had conferred together. Mr. Attorney here inferred that the necessary end of justice was, “ut pæna ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat,” and urged

the examination of Garnet, wherein he confessed, that when Tesmond, alias Greenwell, proposed, in reference to the great blow by the Powder treason, who should have the protection, Greenwell said, the Lords that should be left alive should choose a protector. And, further, Mr. Attorney urged the writing of another letter, written with sack, to Sayer, alias Rookwood, a priest in the Gatehouse; but of this point much is formerly mentioned.

Here Mr. Attorney ending, Lord Northampton spake to the prisoner as follows:—

Though no man alive can be less apt or willing than myself to add the least to the weight of any man's calamity that groans under the heavy burthen of a distressed state, "*Vel gravatis addere gravamina,*" whereof I have as many witnesses as the world hath eyes; yet as the case stands now in this trial, Mr. Garnet, between my dear Sovereign, "*ex cujus spiritu,*" as one of Alexander said; "*nos omnes spiritum ducimus,*" and you that were so well content to let the course of conspiracy run forward to the stopping of this breath before the time, which God by nature doth prescribe, between his honour and your error, his just proceedings and your painted shows, his sincerity and your hypocrisy; I could wish it possible that in a person of some other quality, you might hear the echoes of your imperfect and weak answers, and thereupon judge more indifferently and evenly of the true state of your cause than you have done hitherto, being distracted with fear, or forestalled by prejudice, or, to borrow your own phrase, which is more proper to the point than any I can use, oppressed "*tanta nube testium,*" with so thick a cloud of witnesses, as concur with one voice, heart, and spirit, for the conviction of your audacity.

I confess that never any man in your state gave less hold or advantage to examiners, than you have done in the whole course of proceeding, to us that were in Commission: sometimes by foreswearing, as upon the confession of Hall, your fellow; sometimes by dissembling, as about the places of your rendezvous, which was the lapwing's nest; sometimes by earnest expostulation; sometimes by artificial equivocation; sometimes by sophisticating true substances; sometimes by adding false qualities: yet, 't'eat

superest," as may appear, to the defeat of your inventions, and the defence of the king's majesty, "*quia magna est veritas, et prævalet.*"

Your parts by nature simply considered, and in another person, would rather move compassion than exasperate humanity; for whom would not the ruin of such a person touch, as is in appearance temperate, and in understanding ripe? But our end at this time is the same with Decius in Livy, "*ut quem vos obrutum reliquistis, ignem,*" &c., that we may quench that fire by prevention, which you have only raked up in ashes, "*ut novum daret incendium,*" that it might cause a new combustion so soon as it might hit upon matter that were fit and suitable. Wherefore I must rather draw your answers to the true touch for discharge of rumours, than "*verberare aërem,*" beat the air: for the substance of all your evasions and false shifts is, as the inn-keeper of Chalsis confessed of his dishes to his guests, admiring "*tantam ferculorum diversitatem,*" that they were only compounded of pork, howsoever your fine cookery may vary them.

The two bulls that in the late queen's time entered the land were grazed in your pastures, Mr. Garnet, or, to speak more properly (because they durst neither endure the light nor admit the air), they were stall-fed at your crib, as yourself confess, and, therefore, "*Serve nequam, ex ore tuo te judico.*" And what answer make you to this? Marry, that the purpose was imparted to very few! So much the worse; for out of publication grows discovery. And yet experience hath proved, that those very few were the very souls and spirits of that pack of conspirators, and such as for want of patience and temperance to tarry the time, when the game had been brought to bearing, should have played the chief parts in the late smoking tragedy. You say the bulls were after sacrificed in the fire by yourself; but not before the king's good angel had cut their throats, and the best part of their proof were past, and your hopes dead of that good which in likelihood they should have brought with them. For to what use could these dumb beasts serve in seeking to prevent that lawful and undoubted right which heaven had now proclaimed and earth acknowledged? But let the proof be what it

will, I look into the root. I wonder, Mr. Garnet, what Apostle warrants you in undertaking wicked plots, in hope that good may follow; neglecting what all laws, and the laws of England above all, what all states and nations conclude of men, that slyly practise and combine for anticipation of the future rights of lawful successors.

In excuse of letters written with your own hand by Thomas Winter to Father Creswel, when he was employed about the procurement of an army to invade, with supplies of treasure proportionable to the quicker execution of so desperate an enterprise, you answer, that the persons were commended in your letters, not the plot; as though the minister had any other errand or instruction than the main plot itself: as though you, Mr. Garnet, being then magistrate in Israel, and *rector chori*, could or would be ignorant of their prefixed end! as though so grave a person as yourself were likely to set his hand to blanks, like a baby, and to leave the rest to the disposition of a man wholly transported with fiery humours! Or as though, in this very point, other men's confession in particular, beside your own in general, had not left us marks and traces evident and plain enough to descry doubleness with diversity. You confess privy to a practice, but not for an army: foreknowledge of a course for getting treasure, but with a purpose, as you conceived, to employ it wholly for the relief of Catholics. So as the reason of the reserve of Catesby, Winter, and the rest towards you, must be undoubtedly their suspicion of your over great affection and duty to the queen; for otherwise it is certain they would have trusted you as well with their intention, as with their means; with their hopes, as with their instruments; especially considering how hard it was for them to compass their own vast ideas, without help both of your credit and of your industry.

Wright was in like manner, and with like expedition, commended by you afterward for the quickening of Winter's project, if any life were in it, upon the slacking of the passions of Spain with the propositions of peace, that no time might be lost, no stone left unremoved, that might give a knock to the peace of our policy; your head wrought upon all offers, your spirit steered all attempts

and undertakings, and yet, if protestations, qualified and protected by equivocations, may carry weight, all this while your mind was, as good pastors ought to be, patient, your thoughts were obedient, and your counsels innocent. But now to search your cunning somewhat nearer to the quick. Catesby secretly resorts to you, as Mahomet might to Sergius (for now I speak according to the matter, and not the men), to inquire whether it were lawful, considering the necessity of the time, to undertake an enterprise for the advancement of the Catholic religion, though it were likely that among many that were guilty, some should perish that were innocent. A man that is religious in any kind, or but morally honest in his own kind, would expect that a priest, a Jesuit (which title doth imply salvation, and not destruction; nay, the Superior of English Jesuits), upon this rash demand, should have resorted, for a safe resolution to God's own Book. where he should have found that God was pleased to withdraw his wrathful hand from Sodom, so as there had been only *decem justi*, ten just men within that town, and for their sakes. That the wise householder in St. Matthew, marking how hard it would be when the corn was ripe, to make separation, gave order to his servants to abstain from plucking up the tares, *ne simul eradicarent triticum*, lest withal they plucked up the wheat by the roots. You should have found in the stories of the church, that the godly bishops, in the first spring of religion, suspended process against the Priscilian heretics, *ne Catholici cum illis perirent*, lest the Catholics might also perish with them. And the church of Milan taxed Theodicius the emperor, *quod infantes unda cum sordibus trucidasset*, that he had proceeded both against the guilty and the guiltless with one stroke, and with one measure of severity. But far beside the holy writ, or holy precedents, your answer, Mr. Garnet, was such, as I both abhor to think, and quake to utter, that if any great advantage were to grow to the church this way, they might destroy them all.

"*Tantæ ne animis cœlestibus iræ?*" Oh, Mr. Garnet, be not offended, though I ask of you, as a worthy emperor did once of a traitor, in a case by many degrees inferior to this, "*Quid facit in pectore humano lupi feritas, canis*

rabies, serpentis venenum?" But that which ought most to torture and afflict the spirit (if you be the child of him whose name and badge you bear) is, that your doctrine was confidently delivered, and so speedily digested and converted to nutriment from such a mouth as yours, considering that, according to the prophet, knowledge should depend upon the lips of the priest, as Rookwood, Bates, and others, that did shrink at the horror of the project when it was first laid down, received satisfaction upon the very sound of your assent, though masked with the title of a man as grave and learned as any in the land. Your charter only—whereupon I beseech you, for your own soul's health, to meditate for the time you tarry in this world—was the base whereon some grounded their bad conscience in proceeding with this plot, not only to the destruction of their bodies, but to the peril of their souls, without sound and true repentance, which, by the merit of Christ's passion, will serve in "*quacunq[ue] hora peccator ingemuerit.*" For though Christ were joyful that he had not lost one of those whom his Father gave him in charge, and came to save, and not to destroy, yet your advice was to destroy them all; such was your burning charity.

A man surprised with a question upon the sudden, might answer sharply and shrewdly at times, I confess, without thinking or intending ill; but this man, Mr. Garnet, cannot be you, that having confessed clearly under your own hand, your suspicion of some mischief purposed in their hearts by this quick question of nocents and innocents; and therefore "*quod dubitas ne feceris.*" It seems that the heart of Catesby was a fertile soil for sprouting of stinking weeds hastily, into which the seed of your securing confidence was cast. For the Powder plot, which in January was barely embryo, became "*formatus fœtus*" in the March next following, it quickened the next December, when the pioneers began to dig in the thick wall. Catesby not long after imparted his conceit secretly to you, of the great likelihood he foresaw of a lucky time of birth; and thereupon was Guy Fawkes sent over by your knowledge and encouragement, to deal with Sir William Stanley, about the drawing down of forces somewhat nearer to the sea-side, for speedy transport, which, if need

were, might carry torches at the solemnity. But what is your answer to this employment of Guy Fawkes? Forsooth that your purpose was only to commend him as a soldier, but not a conspirator. O unlucky treason, that comes to be excused by so poor an advocate, when Fawkes himself meant nothing else than to be a soldier, having so strange a part to play soon after in the Powder train, but used this retreat as a colour to disguise the secret purpose that did only tarry time, and to eschew those watchful eyes, that nearer would have observed both his inlets and his outlets in that place more narrowly. The point is clear, the confessions are direct, the purpose is palpable. All the lines of your level are drawn to the centre of the Powder mine. All letters are either drawn or interlined "manu scorpionis," to use the word of Hierome; and yet, under pain of censure, we must believe that all this while you were in charity, because all this while, which it grieves me to remember, you were not afraid to communicate.

But now, to weigh your answers that concern the Powder Plot itself, which is paramount in respect of the longitude and latitude to all that have been or shall ever be, yourself cannot deny, Mr. Garnet, that Greenwell's overture, as you say in confession, coming after the notice which you took of Catesby's question about innocents, was but a fruit of your own doctrine, an effect of your own instruction, and a conclusion drawn wholly out of your own propositions and principles. Now, when we press to know what reason drew you to the concealment of a project so pernicious both to prince and state, without revealing it either to the king himself *tanquam præcellenti*, to use St. Peter's term, or to his ministers subordinate; you start to the shift of confession for a formal help, which comes too short in respect of Catesby's first discovery, which your own words aver plainly to have wrought with you. I will not argue in this place what course a confessor should take, or how far he ought to strain for the security of a prince's life, that otherwise is sure to perish by the rage and ignorance invincible of a base villain (whose life answers not in value the least hair of a prince's head), because time suffers not; but I am sure, that for a matter of less weight than this, and a crime of less importance than the life both of prince

and state, confession received a deep wound for a long time, more than a thousand years past, in the church of Constantinople. For God forbid that matters of such weight should hang by such feeble threads. But to this excuse of tenderness in the point of confession, I would answer by making a great doubt, whether this course of conference were a confession or not; for against your bare words, which equivocation supports, I suspect some likelihood, that since you kneeled sometimes and sometimes walked up and down; since matter of conspiracy were interlaced with matter of confession, not for ease of conscience, as should appear, but for advice in execution; since Greenwell was absolved instantly, which excludes the shift of reference; and Greenwell should be found to lie to the Holy Ghost, in case this were a true confession, in promising Mr. Garnet, as you say, to dissuade the project which he prosecuted even to the last point, as it is evident; and after the Powder camp brake up, I conclude, that though this discovery were by confession, yet it was no supersideas to your former knowledge from Catesby, your former knowledge from Catesby, your trusty friend: and if it were none, then can it be no protection for faith putrified. What need we seek light through cobweb-lawns, when the drift of your whole device in seeking to conclude from one what you learned of another, and from all what you affected and abetted in your heart, doth evidently prove your counsels to have been carried along with such a temper of reserve, as whensoever mischief should be brought to light the world might rather wonder at your caution, than commend your fidelity.

By shaping such weak answers to demonstrations so manifest, you must either work by the ring of Giges, in making your audacity invisible, or hold a very weak conceit of our capacities, in supposing that they can be either dazzled or deluded by such poor sophistry. For though you pretend to have received a deep wound in conscience at the first revealing of the plot—to have lost your sleep with vexation of spirit—to have offered and prayed to God for his preventing grace, to have required Greenwell's help in diverting the design; yet all this while you suffered the project to proceed, you helped and assisted their en-

deavours that were labourers, you wrote earnestly letters both to Baldwin and to Creswel for their furtherance on ordinary means, you gave order for a prayer to be said by Catholics for their prosperous success, you kept measure with the two first dimensions of Friar Bacon's brazen head—Time is, time was—till, thanks be to God, the third time was past; you had ever an ear open to listen for the crack, and were in the same agony for the Powder Plot, that Charles the Fifth was for the Pope's duress, giving order in all his dominions, that prayers should be made for his release when, in the meantime, he kept and held him in his own hand prisoner—the least word of your mouth, or labour of your pen, might have secured both prince and state; while you pretend to have broken both your sleep and your brains, and that with a greater advantage to the cause which you would advance, than can ever grow by combustion and conspiracy. But your tenderness herein was suitable with another dutiful desire of yours to dissuade Catesby from the plot at his coming into Warwickshire, who never meant to come thither; but as to the rendezvous when the Parliament had been blown up, and the storm had been blown over; it may be that your mind was perplexed and disquieted upon the meditation of strange events for so was the mind of Cain, Achitophel, and Judas, that betrayed his master; the reason is very pregnant with the Word of God itself, that "*Cum sit timidia nequitia, dat testimonium condemnationis,*"—since wickedness is cowardly and timorous, it gives evidence of condemnation against itself; "*Et semper præsumit sæva perturbata conscientia;*" but Satan prevailing, his angels execute.

I will now conclude this address to you, Mr. Garnet, by observing some special points, how strangely and preposterously the devil, in this last project of powder, hath altered his old properties. For the curse that God laid upon the serpent, after the first transgression, was, "*Ut gradiretur super pectus suum,*"—to creep upon his breast; but now we find him mounted upon the wings of an osprey, to the highest region of the air, and among the fireworks. The other part of his curse was, that he should eat pulverum, that is dust, or powder. But now, since Sodom was destroyed by sulphur, and the wife of Lot

transmuted into salt, the proper materials of that mean by which Satan wrought in this hot fire, it appears that the serpent, from eating powder—which was a plain devise—fell, for a worse purpose, to snuff gunpowder. Then the serpent did, *insidiari calcaneo*, now *capiti*, from which the body draweth both sense and influence. Then he began to Eve, with a modest question, “Cur præcepit Deus?”—why hath God commanded? now with a resolution, “Præcepit Deus,”—God hath commanded. His words to those carried a flourish of great comfort, but now, terror,—for a great advantage destroy them all. The devil at that time did only nibble about the text of Holy Writ, “Tanquam mus ponticus,” as Tertullian terms Martian; but now he draws the grounds of equivocation concerning princes’ lives. Out of the very scripture, and by scholastical authority, Satan tempted Christ with a fair offer, “Dandi omnia,” of giving all upon the top of the pinnacle. But now he sets upon the great lieutenant of God’s authority and dignity, with an “auferam tibi omnia,” both life and crown, “ex pene-tralibus ubi Christus non est,” as we are taught by his evangelist. The dragon’s ambition extended no further than the sweeping away with his tail of the third part of the stars in the firmament. But now the plot of him and his disciples was to sweep away the sun, the moon, and the stars, both out of Star-chamber and Parliament, that no light be given in this kingdom to the best labourers. In the time of Saul the devil was so modest as to suspend his illusions and oracles till the visions of the prophets began to cease. But now though we have both Moses and the prophets, “et firmiorem sermonem propheticum,” yet he ruffles among the robes, “et inaudita fundit oracula.” In the beginning of the Christian church, the very name of Christ was sufficient to make Satan pack, and to quit the possession of tormented men; but he hath learned a more cunning trick of late, under the banner of Christ, to fight against the lieutenants of his imperial majesty. In one point I find no change, that is, in working by all means to draw men from their trust in God’s direction, to a fickle kind of confidence in themselves, and their own weak knowledge of good and ill. And as that error was the

cause of Adam's exile from paradise, which was "*hortu conclusus*," so had such another almost divided us and our heirs both from our lives and estates, "*Et penitus tota divisos orbe Britannos*."

I have stood the longer on this point to let you know how idly, and yet how wilfully, you strive against both the providence of God, and the justice of the land. "*Qua tu te jugulavit gladio*." The more you labour to get out of the wood, having once lost the right way, the further you creep in. For the wisdom of the world is folly before God; and impossible it is that those counsels or proceedings should either have good proof in this world, or reward in the next, that are imbued with blood, and pursued with tyranny. If then there be no other way to heaven than by the destruction of God's anointed and their heirs, I will conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius, "*Erigito tibi scalam, et in cœlum solus ascende*;" set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to heaven alone, for loyal minds will not suit themselves with such bad company. The worst I wish to your person standing now to be convicted at the bar, is remorse and repentance for the safeguard of your soul; and for the rest, "*Fiat justitia, currat lex, et vincat veritas*."

Garnet replied, that he had done more than he could excuse, and he had dealt plainly with them; but he was bound to keep the secrets of confessions, and to disclose nothing that he heard in sacramental confession. Whereupon the Earl of Nottingham asked him if one confessed this day to him that to-morrow morning he meant to kill the king with a dagger, if he must conceal it? Garnet said that he must conceal it.

Then the Earl of Salisbury desired liberty of him to ask him some questions as to the nature of confessions. Garnet said his lordship might, and he would answer him as well as he could.

Why then, said he, must there not be confession and contrition before absolution? Yes, said Garnet.

Then he demanded whether Greenwell were absolved by him or no? Garnet said he was.

The earl then asked him what Greenwell had done to show that he was sorry for it, and whether he did promise

to desist? Garnet answered, that Greenwell said he would do his best.

To that the earl replied that it could not be so; for as soon as Catesby and Percy were in arms, Greenwell came to them from Garnet, and so went from them to Hall, at Mr. Abington's house, inviting them most earnestly to come and assist those gentlemen in that action. Hereby, saith he, it appears that either Greenwell told you out of confession, and then there needs no secrecy; or if it were in confession, he professed no penitency, and therefore you could not absolve him. To which the earl added, that this one circumstance must still be remembered, and cannot be cleared; that when Greenwell told you what Catesby meant in particular, and you then called to mind also what Catesby had spoken to you in the general before, if you had not been so desirous to have the plot take effect, you might have disclosed it out of your general knowledge from Catesby; but when Catesby offered to deliver you the particulars himself, as he had done to Greenwell, you refused to hear him, lest your tongue should have betrayed your heart. To this Garnet weakly replied, that he did what he could to dissuade it, and went into Warwickshire with a purpose to dissuade Mr. Catesby, when he should have come down. And for Mr. Greenwell's going to Father Hall to persuade him to join, Garnet said, he did very ill in so doing.

To that the Earl of Salisbury replied, that his first answer was most absurd, seeing he knew Catesby would not come down till the 6th of November, which was the day after the blow should have been given; and Garnet went into the country ten days before. And for the second, he said, that he was only glad that the world might now see that Jesuits were condemned by Jesuits, and treason and traitors laid naked by the traitors themselves; yea, Jesuits by that Jesuit, that governs all Jesuits here, and without whom no Jesuit in England can do anything. Garnet (as it should seem) being here mightily touched with remorse of his offence, prayed God and the king that other Catholics might not fare the worse for his sake.

Then the Earl of Salisbury said, Mr. Garnet, is it not a lamentable thing, that if the Pope, or Claudius Aquaviva,

or yourself, command poor Catholics anything, that they must obey you, though it be to endanger both body and soul? And if you maintain such doctrine amongst you, how can the king be safe? Is it not time therefore the king and the state should look to you, that spend your time thus in his kingdom? Garnet said very passionately, My lord, I would to God I had never known of the Powder treason.

Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice of England said, Garnet, you are Superior of the Jesuits; and if you forbid, must not the rest obey? Was not Greenwell with you half an hour at Sir Everard Digby's house, when you heard of the discovery of your treason? and did you not there confer and debate the matter together? Did you not send him to Hall, to Mr. Abington's house, to stir him up to go to the rebels, and encourage them? Yet you seek to colour all this, but that's but a mere shift in you; and notwithstanding all this, you said, no man living but one did know that you were privy to it; then belike some that are dead did know it. Catesby was never from you, as the gentlewoman that kept your house with you confessed, and by many apparent proofs, and evident presumptions, you were in every particular of this action, and directed the actors; nay, I think verily, you were the chief that moved it. Garnet said, No, my lord, I did not.

Then was it well urged by my Lord Chief Justice, how he wrote his letters for Winter, Wright, Fawkes, Baynham, and Catesby, principal actors in this matchless treason. Besides, his lordship told him of his keeping the two bulls to prejudice the king, and to do other mischief in the realm, which, when he saw the king peaceably to come in, then being out of hope to do any good, he burnt them.

Here Mr. Attorney caused to be read the confession of Hall, alias Oldcorn, the Jesuit, under his own hand (which, he said, was *omni exceptione major*), against him, wherein he confessed that Humphrey Littleton told him that Catesby and others were sore hurt with powder, and said that he was exceeding sorry that things took no better effect; whereat Hall wished him not to be discouraged, nor to measure the cause by the event; for though the eleven

tribes of Israel went twice by the special commandment of God against the tribe of Benjamin, yet they both times were overthrown. So Lewis the French king, in his voyage to the Holy Land against the infidels, was overthrown, and his whole army discomfited, though his cause was good. And so likewise the Christians, when they defended Rhodes against the Turks, lost the city, and the Turks had the upper hand. And this he confessed, and applied to the fact of Catesby and others for the Powder treason, and said it would have been commendable when it had been done, though not before.

After this Mr. Attorney opened, how Francis Tresham, a delinquent Romanist, even in *articulo mortis* (a fearful thing) took it upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet for sixteen years before, when Garnet himself had confessed that he had seen him often within that time; and likewise that Garnet knew not of the Spanish invasion, which Garnet himself confessed also, and which two things Tresham himself had formerly confessed to the lords; yet, for a recantation of these two things, upon his deathbed he commanded Vavasour his man, whom, I think, said Mr. Attorney, deeply guilty in this treason, to write a letter to the Earl of Salisbury; and to show this his desperate recantation, Mr. Tresham's letter was offered to be read, being to this effect:—That whereas, since the king's time, he had had his pardon, and that, to satisfy the lords who heretofore examined him, he had accused Garnet; that now, he being weak, desired that his former examinations might be called in, because they were not true; and set down upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet in sixteen years before.

Then my Lord of Salisbury said, it was a lamentable thing; for within three hours after this, he died: and asked Garnet what interpretation he made of this testamental protestation? Garnet answered, It may be, my lord, he meant to equivocate. Here was the examination and confession of Mrs. Anne Vaux offered to be read also, to confirm Tresham's perjury, who had confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house, three or four times since the king's coming in, and divers times before; and that he had dined with him, and that Garnet always gave

him good counsel, and would say sometimes to him and others, Good gentlemen, be quiet; for we must obtain that which you desire by prayer. She confessed also, that they were at Erith together the last summer.

After all this, Garnet being asked if these examinations were true, affirmed they were. And then were his own examinations likewise read to the same effect, wherein he both confessed the seeing of Mr. Tresham, and his sending into Spain about an invasion.

Here Lord Salisbury concluded, that that which was said of Mr. Tresham and others, was not done against charity to the dead, but upon inevitable necessity to avoid all their slanderous reports and practices; for he said, that even now there was current throughout the town, a report of a retractation under Bates's hand, of his accusation of Greenwell; which are strange and grievous practices to think upon. But this day shall witness to the world that all is false, and yourself condemned not by any but by yourself, your own confessions and actions. Alas, Mr. Garnet, why should we be troubled all this day with you, poor man, were it not to make the cause appear as it deserveth? wherein, God send you may be such an example, as you may be the last actor in this kind.

Here upon my Lord Admiral said to Garnet, that he had done more good this day in that pulpit which he stood in, for it was made like unto a pulpit wherein he stood, than he had done all the days of his lifetime in any other pulpit.

Then was another examination of Mrs. Anne Vaux read, wherein she confessed that Mr. Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham, at his house in Northamptonshire, and stayed there.

After this, my Lord of Salisbury said, Mr. Garnet, if you have not yet done, I would have you to understand that the king hath commanded, that whatsoever made for you, or against you, all should be read, and so it is, and we take of you what you will. This gentlewoman that seems to speak for you in her confessions, I think would sacrifice herself for you to do you good, and you likewise for her; therefore, good Mr. Garnet, whatsoever you have to say, say in God's name, and you shall be heard.

Then Garnet desired the jury that they would allow of,

and believe those things he had denied and affirmed, and not to give credit unto those things whereof there was no direct proof against him, nor to condemn him by circumstances or presumptions. To whom Garnet answered, "Yes, my Lord."

The Earl of Salisbury demanded of him, saying, Mr. Garnet, is this all you have to say? if it be not, take your time, no man shall interrupt you.

Mr. Attorney humbly desired all the Lords Commissioners, that if he had forgotten to speak of anything material, that their lordships would be pleased to put him in mind of it: who was assured by my Lord of Salisbury that he had done very well, painfully, and learnedly.

Then Mr. Attorney desired the jury might go together, who, upon his motion, going together forth of the Court, within less than a quarter of an hour returned, and found Henry Garnet guilty.

Whereupon Mr. Serjeant Crook prayed judgment.

Then Mr. Waterhouse, the Clerk of the Crown, demanding what he could say for himself, why judgment should not be given against him?

Garnet made answer, that he could say nothing, but referred himself to the mercy of the king and God Almighty.

After this, the Earl of Northampton made a learned speech, which in itself was very copious; and the intention being to contract this volume as much as might be, and to keep only to matter of fact, it was thought convenient to omit the same.

Then the Lord Chief Justice, making a pithy preamble of all the apparent proofs and presumptions of his guilt, gave judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

And my Lord of Salisbury demanded, if Garnet would say anything else?

Garnet answered—No, my Lord. But I humbly desire your lordships all, to commend my life to the king's majesty, saying, that at his pleasure he was ready either to die or live, and do him service.

And so the Court arose.

A true Relation of all such things as passed at the Execution of MR. GARNET, the 3rd of May, Anno 1606.

ON the 3rd of May, Garnet, according to his judgment, was executed upon a scaffold, set up for that purpose at the west end of St. Paul's Church. Upon his ascending the scaffold, he stood much amazed, fear and guiltiness appearing in his face. The Deans of Paul's and Winchester being present, very gravely and Christianly exhorted him to a true and lively faith to Godward, a free and plain acknowledgment to the world of his offence; and if any further treason lay in his knowledge, to unburthen his conscience, and show a sorrow and detestation of it. But Garnet, impatient of persuasions, and ill pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him; he came prepared and was resolved. Then the Recorder of London, who was by his majesty appointed to be there, asked Garnet if he had anything to say unto the people before he died; it was no time to dissemble, and now his treasons were too manifest to be dissembled; therefore if he would, the world should witness what at last he censured of himself, and of his fact; it should be free to him to speak what he listed. But Garnet, unwilling to take the offer, said, his voice was low, his strength gone, the people could not hear him though he spake to them; but to those about him on the scaffold he said—The intention was wicked, and the fact would have been cruel, and from his soul he should have abhorred it had it been effected. But he said, he only had a general knowledge of it by Mr. Catesby, which in that he disclosed not, nor used means to prevent it, herein he had offended; what he knew in particular was in confession, as he said. But the Recorder wished him to be remembered, that the king's majesty had under his handwriting these four points amongst others:—

1. That Greenway told him of this, not as a fault, but as a thing which he had intelligence of, and told it him by way of consultation.

2. That Catesby and Greenway came together to him to be resolved.

3. That Mr. Tesmond and he had conference of the particulars of the Powder treason in Essex long after.

4. Greeneway had asked him, who should be the protector? But Garnet said, that was to be referred till the blow was past.

These prove your privity besides confession, and these are extant under your hand. Garnet answered, whatsoever was under his hand was true. And for that he disclosed not to his majesty the things he knew, he confessed himself justly condemned, and for this did ask forgiveness of his majesty. Hereupon the Recorder led him to the scaffold to make his confession public.

Then Garnet said, Good countrymen, I am come hither this blessed day of the Invention of the Holy Cross, to end all my crosses in this life. The cause of my suffering is not unknown to you; I confess I have offended the king, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty, which was in concealing it, and for that I ask pardon of his majesty. The treason intended against the king and state was bloody, myself should have detested it had it taken effect; and I am heartily sorry that any Catholics ever had so cruel a design. Then turning himself from the people to those about him, he made an apology for Mrs. Ann Vaux, saying, There is an honourable gentlewoman, who hath been much wronged in report; for it is suspected and said, that I should be married to her, or worse. But I protest the contrary; she is a virtuous gentlewoman, and for me a perfect pure virgin. For the Pope's briefs, Sir Edmund Baynham's going over-seas, and the matter of the Powder treason, he referred himself to his arraignment, and his confessions; for whatsoever is under my hand in any of my confessions, said he, is true.

Then addressing himself to execution, he kneeled at the ladder foot, and asked if he might have time to pray, and how long? It was answered, he should limit himself, none should interrupt him. It appeared he could not constantly or devoutly pray, fear of death, or hope of pardon even then so distracted him; for oft in these prayers he would break off, turn and look about him, and answer to what he overheard, while he seemed to be praying. When he stood up, the recorder, finding in his behaviour as it

were an expectation of a pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, nor beguile his own soul; he was come to die, and must die; requiring him not to equivocate with his last breath, if he knew anything that might be dangerous to the king or state, he should now utter it. Garnet said, it is now no time to equivocate; how it was lawful, and when, he had showed his mind elsewhere. But, saith he, I do not now equivocate, and more than I have confessed, I do not know. At his ascending up the ladder, he desired to have warning before he was turned off. But it was told him, he must look for no other turn but death. Being upon the gibbet, he used these words, "I commend me to all good Catholics, and I pray God preserve his majesty, the queen, and all their posterity, and my lords of the Privy Council, to whom I remember my humble duty, and I am sorry that I did dissemble with them; but I did not think they had had such proof against me till it was showed me; but when that was proved, I held it more honour for me at that time to confess, than before to have accused. And for my brother Greenway, I would the truth were known; for the false reports that are make him more faulty than he is. I should not have charged him, but that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the Catholics may not fare the worse for my sake; and I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any treasons, rebellions, or insurrections against the king. And with this, ended speaking and fell to praying: and crossing himself, said, "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti;" and prayed, "Maria mater, gratiæ, Maria mater misericordiæ, tu me à malo protege, et hora mortis suscipe." Then, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." Then, "Per crucis hoc signum (crossing himself), fugiat procul omne malignum. Infige crucem tuam in corde meo Domine" (Let me always remember the cross). And so returned again to "Maria, mater gratiæ," and then was turned off, and hung till he was dead.

PAPERS OR LETTERS OF SIR EVERARD DIGBY,
*Chiefly relating to the Gunpowder Plot, and written by
 him during his Imprisonment in the Tower.*

TO THE READER.

WHERE and when the originals of the following papers or letters of Sir Everard Digby were found, will appear by the certificate at the end of this Preface.

It is thought fit to publish them as far as may tend either to his vindication and honour. His Letter to his Sons is full of good counsel, proper for a dying father. And the verses, though they be not excellent, yet have have a good tincture of piety and devotion in them.

Where any words are worn out, or so decayed that they could not be read, there is a space left. Where any letters or words were doubtful and obscure, the transcriber hath conjectured as well as he could, and printed them in a different character.

This unfortunate gentleman, Sir Everard Digby, who, from a mistaken zeal, was engaged in this horrible conspiracy, was not, as I have been creditably informed, above twenty-four years of age at the time of his death.

As for the papers themselves, whoever shall diligently peruse them, may receive abundant satisfaction in the following particulars:—

First, that this gentleman was verily persuaded of the lawfulness of this design, and did engage in it out of a sincere but ignorant zeal for the advancement, as he thought, of the true religion.

Secondly, that although, after his imprisonment, when he heard it was censured by those of his religion as a great sin, he called in question the lawfulness of it; yet he was never fully convinced that it was so great a sin.

He says, indeed, “That the censure of this action by some of his religion, called his conscience in doubt of it;” but withal that “this doubt, which he had of his good estate, proceeded only from the censure of others;” and that “for some good space he could do nothing, but with tears ask pardon at God’s hands for all his errors, both in actions and intentions, in this business, and in his whole

life ; which the censure of this, contrary to his expectance, had caused him to doubt." So that here was no clear conviction of the heinousness of this horrible crime ; only, if it were a sin—which, from the opinion of others concerning it, he had some doubt it might be—he asks forgiveness of God for it among the other errors of his life. But had he been fully convinced, he would not only have declared his repentance for it after another manner, but have made a full discovery of this wicked plot, and of those who were engaged in it, which it is plain, from these letters, he declined to do to the last. And surely that cruel expression, upon supposition that the plot had taken effect, " I do not think there would have been three worth the saving that should have been lost," is but a very ill sign of his repentance.

Thirdly, that it is very probable that afterwards, before his death, he received satisfaction of the lawfulness of it, and that from his brother, or one whom he calls so, as may appear by some of the passages in his letters.

Fourthly, that he thought it lawful to deny anything upon his examination that was to the disadvantage of his religion, or might bring others into danger, without any regard to truth ; which is a strange liberty for a conscientious man to take, or to think religion doth allow ; and yet he owns it so frankly, that no man can think he had the least doubt concerning it, as is evident from some of the passages.

Fifthly, that this was a real plot, wherein several Popish priests and Jesuits, and other persons of quality of that religion, were engaged. And not only so, but that if it had taken effect, an association of foreign princes of that religion, by a solemn oath, like that of the Holy League in France, was designed, to have assured the business afterwards.

And is it not strange, that after all this, men should have the face to disclaim a thing so notorious to all the world ? and to lay it upon the king's ministers, as a state contrivance, on purpose to make the Papists odious ?

Why was not this said before, by those who were likely and most concerned to know it ? This gentleman seems not to have had the least suspicion of any such matter ;

none of the conspirators, either, at their examination, or trial, or execution, complained of it, that they were deceived and drawn in; and if they had, they had nevertheless been traitors. None of the apologists of that time for this black conspiracy, neither Bellarmine, nor Eudæmon Johannes, nor any other that I have seen, do suggest any such thing, which they would certainly have done, had they known the least ground for it. Nay, the late history of the English Jesuits, written by More, a Jesuit, and published at St. Omers in 1660,* “doth fully own this horrid conspiracy of the Papists, and chargeth it solely upon them; only he endeavours to clear the Jesuits of the contrivance of this design, acknowledging they were guilty of the concealment of it.

But now, after threescore years, to think to baffle all the records and histories of that time by a bold and groundless surmise, that all this was a contrivance of Secretary Cecil, without the least proof produced for it, is a confidence only becoming such a church, and such a cause. To conclude this matter—though the priests of the Roman Church are able to impose so far upon the easy credulity of their people as to persuade them every day to deny their senses, and to believe contrary to what they plainly see, yet have they no reason to expect the same civility and compliance from us, whom they know to have, above an hundred years ago, taken up an obstinate resolution to believe our own senses, against the confidence and presumption of any church in the world.

* Hist. Provinc. Anglic. Soc. Jesu, l. vii. page 310.

The several Papers of SIR EVERARD DIGBY, which are (as we have been credibly informed) the original papers and letters written by him, concerning the Gunpowder Treason, were found by us, SIR RICE RUDD, Baronet, and WILLIAM WOGAN, of Gray's Inn, Esq., in the presence of MRS. URSULA GILES, and MR. THOMAS HUGHES, about the month of September, 1675, at the House of CHARLES CORNWALLIS, Esq., who was executor of SIR KENELM DIGBY (son and heir to the said SIR EVERARD) tied up in two silk bags, amongst the deeds, evidences, and writings of the said SIR KENELM DIGBY.

RICE RUDD,
WILLIAM WOGAN.

JESUS.

I have not named any, either living or dead, that should have hurt my Lord Salisbury; and only intended these general informations to procure me access of some friend, that I might inform my knowledge—for I never intended to hurt any creature, though it would have gained me all the world. As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I know any priest particularly, nor shall ever do to the hurt of any but myself. At my first examination the Earl of Salisbury told me, that some things should be affirmed against me by Gerrard, the priest, who, saith he, I am sure you know well. My answer was, that if I might see him, I would tell him whether I knew him or no; but by that name I did not know him, nor at Mrs. Vaux's, as he said I did; for I never saw a priest there. Yesterday I was before Mr. Attorney and my Lord Chief Justice, who asked me if I had taken the sacrament to keep secret the Plot, as others did. I said that I had not, because I would avoid the question of at whose hands it were. They told me that five had taken it of Gerrard, and that he knew of the Plot, which I said was more than I knew.

Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the Plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it secret, it was caused by certain belief, that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More reasons I had to persuade me to this belief than I dare utter, which I will never, to the suspicion of any, though I should go to the rack for it, and as I did not know it directly that it was approved by such, so did I hold it in my conscience the best not to know any more if I might.

I have before all the lords cleared all the priests in it, for anything that I know; but now let me tell you, what a grief it hath been to me, to hear so much condemned what I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by Catholics; there is no other cause but this, which hath made me desire life, for when I came into prison death would have been a welcome friend unto me, and was most desired; but when I heard how Catholics and priests thought of the matter, and that it should be a great sin that should be the cause of my end, it called my conscience in doubt of my very best actions and intentions in question: for I knew that myself might easily be deceived in such a business, therefore I protest unto you that the doubts I had of my own good state, which only proceeded from the censure of others, caused more bitterness of grief in me than all the miseries that ever I suffered, and only this caused me wish life till I might meet with a ghostly friend. For some good space I could do nothing, but with tears ask pardon at God's hands for all my errors, both in actions and intentions, in this business and in my whole life, which the censure of this, contrary to my expectance, caused me to doubt: I did humbly beseech that my death might satisfy for my offence, which I should and shall offer most gladly to the Giver of life. I assure you, as I hope in God, that the love of all my estate and worldly happiness did never trouble me, nor the love of it since my imprisonment did ever move me to wish life. But if that I may live to make satisfaction to God and the world where I have given any scandal, I shall not grieve if I should never look living creature in the face again, and besides that deprivation endure all worldly misery. I shall not need to clear any living body, either private or public, for I never named anybody, but reported that those that are dead did promise, that all forces in those parts about Mr. Talbot would assist us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly spoke it. Let my brother see this, or know the contents. Tell him I love his sweet comforts as my greatest jewel in this place; if I can, I will convey in the tables a copy of a letter which I sent yesterday; it is as near as I can understand the meaning of the instruction. I perceive it works with the lords, for I shall be sent to them. Oh, how full of joy should I die if I could do anything for the cause which I love more than my life! Farewell my

2. Besides the trunk of armour which was sent to Mr. Catesby, I did carry but one other trunk with me, which had in it clothes of mine, as a white satin doublet cut with purple, a jerkin and hose of De-roi, colour satin laid very thick with gold

lace. There were other garments in it of mine, with a new black winter gown of my wife's. There was also in the trunk £300 in money, and this trunk did I see safe at Mr. Littleton's house after the blowing up of the powder. Since that Mr. Adis cannot spare time from his business to sell such goods as shall be necessary to defray the expense of my wife, children, and family, and my own charges, my desire therefore is, that one Andrew Knight, of Newport, dwelling near the house where these goods are, should have power given him to make sale of such things as shall be thought necessary for these purposes.

By me

EVERARD DIGBY.

W. WAAD, Locum ten. Turris.

6. You forgot to tell me whether Winscombe be a fit name. I like it, for I know none of it. You need not fear this lord, for he never looks in the tables, nor dare show them to any. Tell my brother I do honour him as befits me; but I did not think I could have increased in so much, loving him more as his charitable lessons would make me. Your information doth much comfort me; but I pray you, after my death, let me not want good prayers, for my need is great, though my trust in God is not small. As occasion falls out you will know. Farewell.

9. My dearest, the I take at the uncharitable taking of these matters, will make me say more than ever I thought to have done; for if this design had taken place, there could have been no doubt of other success; for that night, before any other could have brought the news, we should have known it by Mr. Catesby, who should have proclaimed the heir-apparent at Charing Cross, as he came out of town; to which purpose there was a proclamation drawn. If the duke had not been in the House, then was there a certain way laid for the possessing him; but in regard of the assurance, they should have been there; therefore the greatest of our business stood in the possessing the Lady Elizabeth, who lying within eight miles of Dunchurch, we would have easily surprised before the knowledge of any doubt. This was the cause of my being there. If she had been in Rutland, then Stokes was near, and in either place we had taken sufficient order to have been possessed of her. There was also courses taken for the satisfying the people if the first had taken effect, as the speedy notice of liberty and freedom from all manner of slavery, as the ceasing of wardships and all monopolies which, with change, would have been more plausible to the

people, if the first had been, than it is now. There was also a course taken to have given present notice to all princes, and to associate them with an oath answerable to the league in France. I have not uttered any of these things, nor ever thought to do; for my going from Dunchurch I had this reason. First, I knew that Fawkes could reveal me, for I must make choice of two besides Mr. Catesby, which I did of him and Mr. Winter. I knew he had been employed in great matters, and till torture sure he carried it very well. Secondly, we all thought if we could procure Mr. Talbot to rise that

party
at least to a composition that was not little, because we had in our company his son-in-law, who gave us some hope of, and did not much doubt it. I answer your speech with Mr. Brown thus. Before that I knew anything of this plot, I asked Mr. Farmer what the meaning of the Pope's brief was. He told me that they were not (meaning priests) to undertake or procure stirs; but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they should, that should be undertaken for Catholic good. I did never utter thus much, nor would not but to you; and this answer, with Mr. Catesby's proceedings with him and me, gave me absolute belief that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known. I dare not take that course that I could to make it appear less odious; for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwise. I do not think there would have been three worth saving that should have been lost. You may guess that I had some friends that were in danger, which I had prevented, but they shall never know it. I will do as much as my partner wisheth, and it will then appear that I have not hurt or accused one man; and howsoever I might in general possess them with fear, in hope to do the cause good, yet my care was ever to lose my own life rather than hurt the unworthiest member of the Catholic church. Tell her I have ever loved her and her house, and though I could never show it, I will not live to manifest the contrary. Her Go. I hope will remember me, who I am in temporal respects indebted to. Your sister salute from me, whose noble mind to me in this misery I will never
my Lord of Arundell
may do much with the lord and the queen. One that you write of which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of him again, can tell him that I love him, and did manifest it in his sight, and he might have found it; last time as I saw him, was in his company, as I think. I am sure when this was, he was there. If your mother were in town you should do it to

her. Farewell, and where you cannot understand, send to me by your next, and I will explain.

JESUS MARIA.

THERE be many reasons, my dear children, that might dissuade me from putting pen to paper in this kind, and only one which urgeth me to undertake this poor and fruitless pains. Wherefore to tell you what inciteth me to it, is my want of other means to show my fatherly affection to each of you—which is so far from uttering, as my mind is willing to accept of poor means, rather than none to betray my disposition—if I would have been checked from the performance of these lines by number and probabilities of reasons, I might then have called to mind the unlikelihood that these would ever have come to your view; with the malice of the world to me, which, I do imagine, will not fail to endeavour to possess you with a loathness to hear of anything that comes from me; as also I might, and do think, on my own disability in advising, with many other dissuasive reasons, which my former recited single stirrer-up hath banished.

Wherefore, to begin with both and each of you, I send you my fatherly and last blessing, which I have not failed to ask at God's hands on my knee, that he will grant to descend so effectually on you, that, his holy grace accompanying it, it may work in you the performance, on your part, of God's sweet and just commandments; and on his part to you, the guerdon, that his mercy enricheth his servants withal.

Let this end—God's service, I mean—be the chief and only contentious strife between you, which, with all vehemency and desire, each of you may strive to attain soonest. Let this be the mark which your thoughts and actions may still level at; for here is the chiefest prize, to recompense the best deserver. Believe me in this, my sons, that though my unripe years afford me not general experience, yet my variety of courses in the world, and God's grace to illumine me, may sufficiently warrant the verity of this principle. If you make this your chief business—as you ought to do, and for which only you were sent into the world—I doubt not but God will send you better means for your particular directions, than either the brevity of a letter, or my ability can discharge. So that in this I will say no more, but pray that you may live as I hope to die, which is in the perfect obedience of the Catholic and only saving church.

I cannot but a little touch what I could wish you did, and I hope will do, to all sorts of people; it is a lesson I could never

learn well myself, but perhaps see more what is convenient for others, than that I were ever able to show the force of wholesome counsel and good instructions in my own life.

Above all things in the world, seek to obey and follow your mother's will and pleasure; who, as she hath been the best wife to me that ever man enjoyed, so can she not fail to show herself equal to the best mother, if you deserve not the contrary. If it please God to send her life, though you have nothing else, I shall leave you enough. And on the contrary, if I could leave you ten times more than myself ever had, yet she being taken from you, I should think you but poor. It is not, my sons, abundance of riches that makes a man happy, but a virtuous life; and as they are blessings from God, and cause of happiness to a man that useth them well, so are they cause of misery to most men even in this world.

You may read of divers men who, while they lived in private state, deserved the fame of all that knew them; but so soon as prosperous fortune, and higher degrees, had taken possession of them, they seemed not to be the same men, but grew into scorn of all the world. For example, Galba, whilst he lived in Spain as a private man, and, as it were, banished his country, by a charge that procured in him great pains and care; he was so well liked, that upon the death of Nero, the emperor, he was elected in his room; but was no sooner in that place, than he was plucked out of it again by violent death, as a man unfit for such a charge, by reason of the alteration which that dignity wrought in him.

You may see also in Otho, who succeeded him, that all the while of his prosperity he led a most dissolute life, and odious to all men; but he was no sooner touched with adversity, than he grew to a brave and worthy resolution, making choice rather—not out of desperation—of his own death, than that by his life the commonweal should be disturbed. And though I cannot but disallow the manner of his death—by reason he knew not God truly—yet is it plain, that adversity brought him to that worthy mind, which contemned life in regard of his country's good; and which was so contrary to that mind that prosperity had misled in him. If, then, adverse fortune were so powerful, more than prosperity, in pagans and misbelievers, to procure in them worthy minds; what may we expect the force of it should be in Christians, whose first Captain, not out of necessity, but free choice, made manifest to the world, by his own painful footsteps, that there is no other perfect and certain way to true happiness.

He hath not only staid here in demonstration of his verity,

but hath sent to all those—who, the world knows, he highliest esteemed, and best loved—nothing but variety of misery in this life, with cruel and forced death; the which thing truest wisdom esteems as the best tokens of love from so powerful a Sender, and as the best and certainest way to bring a man to perfect happiness.

I speak not this to conclude, that no man is happy but those which run this strict and best course, but to tell you, my children, that if the world seek and prevail to cut you off from enjoying my estate and patrimony in this world, yet you should not think yourselves more unhappy therein, for God, it may be, doth see that there is some other course more fit for you; or that this would give great hazard to your soul's health, which he taketh away, by removing the occasion.

But howsoever you find yourselves in fortunes of this world, use them to God's best pleasure, and think yourselves but bailiffs of such things for an uncertain time. If they be few or poor, your fear of making a good account may be the lesser; and know, that God can send more and richer, if it be requisite for his glory and your good; if they be many or great, so much the more care you ought to take in governing yourselves, lest God, as holding you unworthy such a charge, by taking them from you, or you from them, do also punish you with eternal misery, for abusing his benefits. You shall the better learn to make true use and reckoning of these vanities, if with due obedience you do hearken to your mother's wholesome counsel; and what want you shall find in my instructions, you may see better declared to you by looking on her life, which, though I cannot give assurance for anything to be done in future times, yet can I not but very steadfastly believe, that the same Lord will give perseverance in virtue where he hath laid so strong a foundation for his spiritual building, and where there is such an humble and resigned will to the pleasure of her Lord and Maker.

The next part of my charge shall be, in your mutual carriage the one to the other; in which, all reasons to move you to perfect accord and entire love, do present themselves unto you, as the obligation of Christianity, the tie of natural and nearest consanguinity, and the equality, or very small difference of age. There is in none of these anything wanting, that may be an impediment to truest friendship, nor anything to be added to them, for procuring your mutual and heartiest love, but your own consent and particular desert each to other. Since, then, there is all cause in each of you for this love, do not deprive yourselves of that earthly happiness, which God, nature, and time offereth

unto you ; but if you think that the benefit which accord and friendship bringeth, be not sufficient to enkindle this love, which God forbid you should, yet let the consideration of the misery which the contrary worketh in all degrees, stay your mind from dislike.

As no man, in any age, but may see great happiness to have been attained by good agreement of friends, kinsmen, and brethren ; so wanteth there not too many examples of such, as by hate and discord have frustrated strong hopes sowed in peace, and brought to nothing great fortunes ; besides the incurring God's displeasure, which still comes accompanied with perpetual misery. If you look into Divine writ, you shall find that this was the cause of Abel and Cain's misery, which the least hard hap that came to either of them, was to be murdered by his brother.

If you look into human stories, you need search no further to behold a more pitiful object than the two sons of Philip, King of Macedon, whose dislike each to other was so deeply rooted, that at length it burst forth into open complaints, the one of the other, to good old Philip, who, seeing it, could not be put off from a public hearing, called both his sons, Demetrius and Perseus, and in both their hearing made a most effectual speech of concord unto them ; but finding that it would not take effect, gave them free leave to wound his heart with their unnatural accusations, the one against the other ; which staid not there by the unjust hastening of their father's sudden death, but caused the murder of one of them, with the utter overthrow of that commonwealth and the misery of the survivor. These things, I hope, will not be so necessary for your use as they are hurtless to know, and effectual where need requires.

Besides these examples and fore-recited obligations, let me join a father's charge, which ought not to be slightly esteemed in so just a cause. Let me tell you, my son Kenelm, that you ought to be both a father and a brother to your unprovided for brother, and think, that what I am hindered from performing to him by short life, and voluntary tie of my land to you ; so much account yourself bound to do to him, both in brotherly affection to him, and in natural duty to me. And you, my son John, know I send you as fatherly a blessing as if I had also given you a great patrimony ; and that if my life had permitted I would have done my endeavour that way. If you find anything in that kind to come from your brother, take it the more thankfully ; but that if you do not, let it not lessen your love to him, who ought not to be loved by you for his fortune or bounty, but

for himself. I am sorry that I am cut off by time from saying so much as I did intend at the first; but since I may not, I will commend in my prayers your instruction and guidance to the Giver of all goodness, who ever bless and keep you.

Your affectionate father,

EVE. DIGBY.

From my prison this
23rd Jan., 1605.

Come Grief, possess that place thy harbingers have seen,
 And think most fit to entertain thyself;
 Bring with thee all thy troops, and sorrow's longest teem
 Of followers, that wail for worldly pelf:
 Here shall they see a wight more lamentable
 Than all that troop that seem most miserable.

For here they may descry, if perfect search be made,
 The substance of that shadow causing woe:
 An unkind frost, that caused hopeful sprouts to fade;
 Not only mine, but others' grief did grow
 By my misdeed, which grieves me most of all,
 That I should be chief cause of others' fall.

For private loss to grieve, when others have no cause
 Of sorrow, is unmeet for worthy mind;
 For who but knows, that each man's sinful life still draws
 More just revenge, than he on earth can find.
 But to undo desert and innocence,
 Is, to my mind, grief's chiefest pestilence.

I grieve not to look back into my former state,
 Though different that were from present case;
 I moan not future haps, though forced death with hate
 Of all the world were blustered in my face.
 But, oh! I grieve to think that ever I
 Have been a means of others' misery.

When on my little babes I think, as I do oft,
 I cannot choose but then let fall some tears:
 Methinks I hear the little prattler, with words soft,
 Ask, Where is Father that did promise pears,
 And other knacks, which I did never see,
 Nor Father neither, since he promis'd me.

'Tis true, my babe, thou never saw'st my father since,
 Nor art thou ever like to see again:
 That stopping father into mischief which will pinch
 The tender bud, and give thee cause to plain
 His hard disaster; that must punish thee,
 Who art from guilt as any creature free.

But, oh ! when she that bare thee, babe, comes to my mind,
 Then do I stand as drunk with bitterest woe,
 To think that she, whose worth were such to all, should find
 Such usage hard, and I to cause the blow,
 Of her, such sufferance, that doth pierce my heart,
 And gives full grief to every other part.

Hence comes the cause, that each tear striveth to be first,
 As if I meant to stint them of their course.
 No salted meats : that done, you know my heart would burst
 With violent assaults of your great force.
 But when I stay you, 'tis for that I fear,
 Your gushing so will leave me ne'er a tear.

But, ah ! this doubt, Grief says, I never need to fear,
 For she will undertake t' afford me store ;
 Who, in all her knowledge, never cause of woe did hear
 That gall'd her deeper, or gave witness more
 Of earth's hard usage, that does punish those
 That guiltless be, with Fortune's cruellest blows.

Though further cause of more than utterable grief,
 As others loss, I could dilate at large,
 Which I am cause of, yet her suffering being chief
 Of all their woes that sail in this deep barge
 Of sorrow's sea ; I cannot but reflect
 Hereon more deeply, and with more respect.

On which dear object when I look with grieved mind,
 Such store of pities see I plead her case,
 As hardest heart cause of compassion there would find,
 To hear what could be said before that face,
 Which I have wrong'd in causing so to weep,
 The grief whereof constrains my pen to sleep.

JESUS MARIA.

Who's that which knocks? Oh, stay, my Lord, I come :
 I know that call, since first it made me know
 Myself, which makes me now with joy to run,
 Lest he be gone that can my duty show.

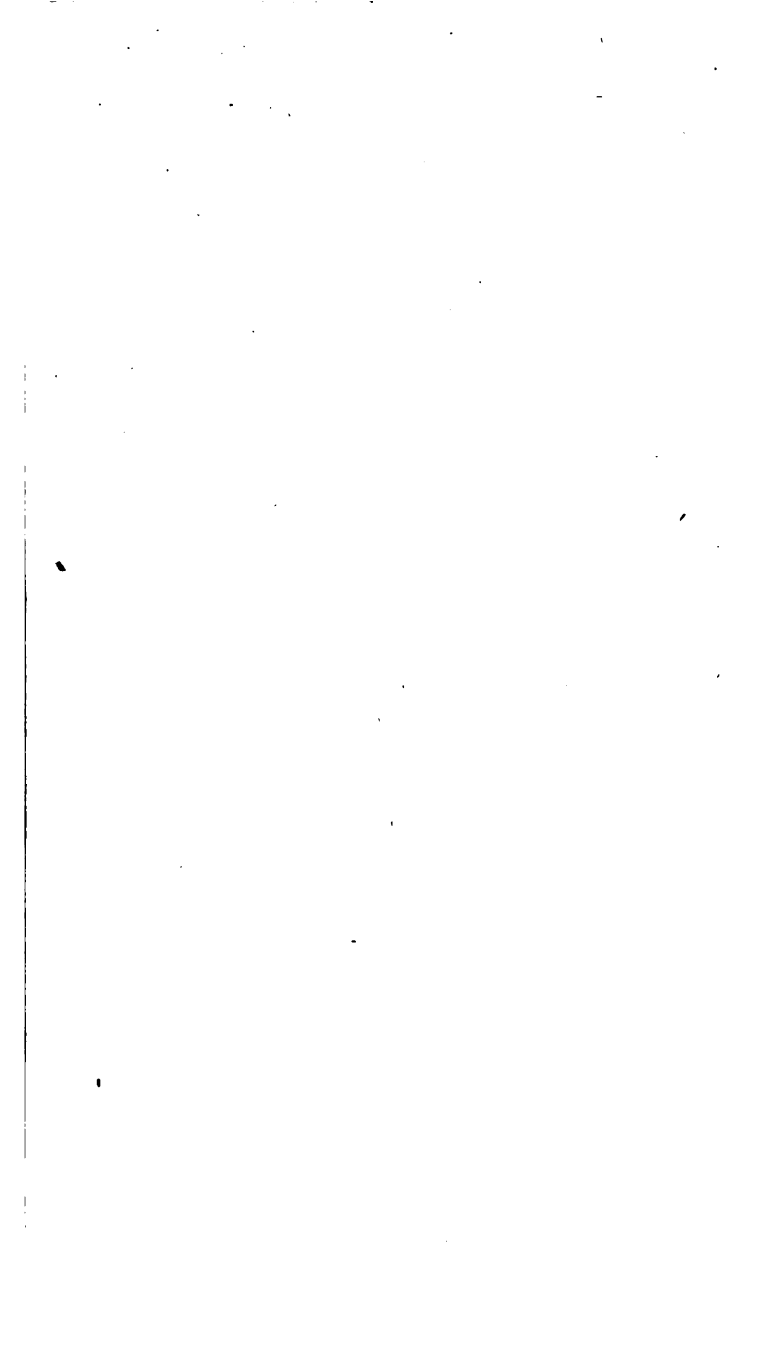
Jesu, my Lord, I know thee by the Cross
 Thou offer'st me, but not unto my loss.

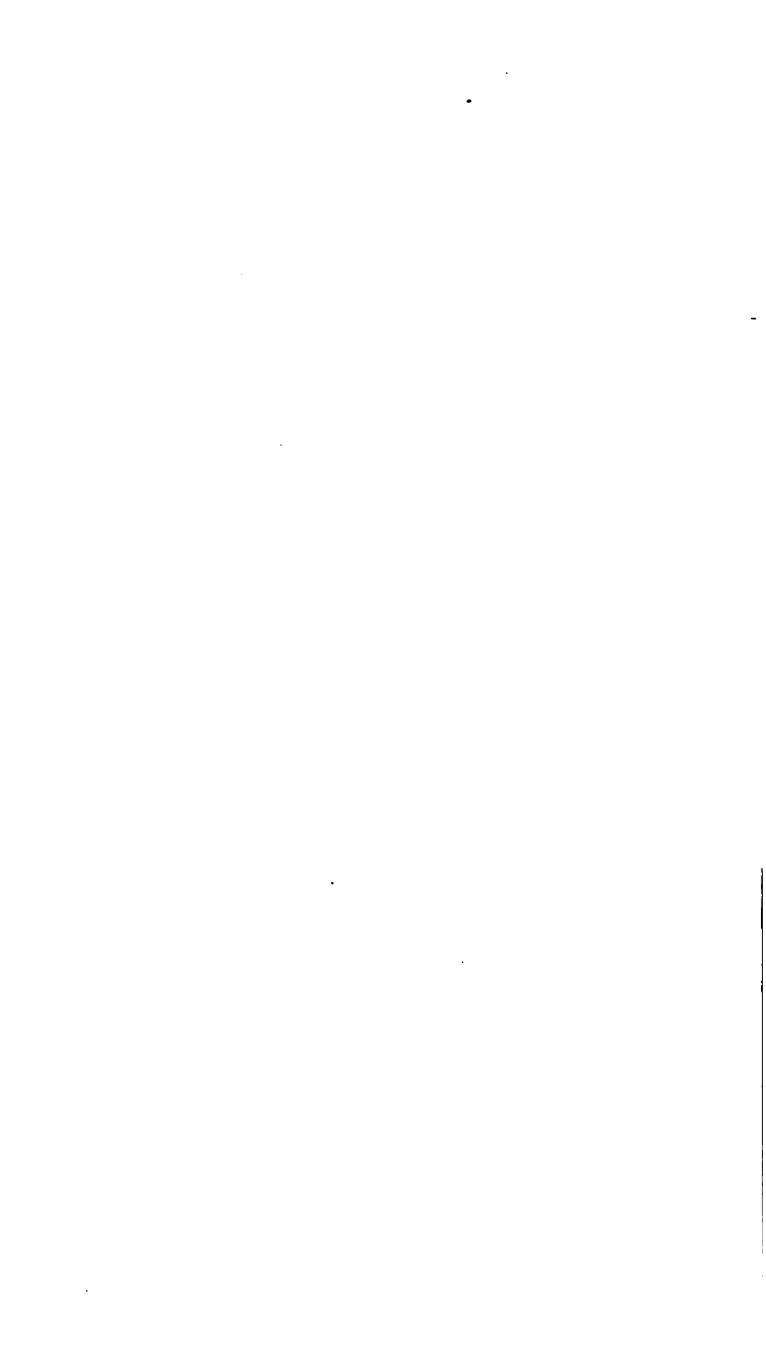
Come in, my Lord, whose presence most I crave,
 And show thy will unto my longing mind.
 From punishments of sin thy servants save,
 Though he hath been to thy deserts unkind.

Jesu, forgive, and strengthen so my mind,
 That rooted virtues thou in me may'st find.

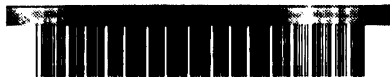
Stay still, my Lord, else will they fade away,
 As marigold that mourns for absent sun ;
 Thou know'st thou plantest in a barren clay,
 That chokes in winter all that up is come.

I do not fear thy summer's wished heat,
 My tears shall water where thy shine doth threat.

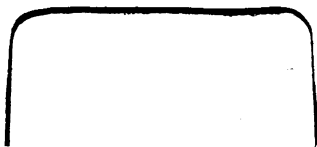








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The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the cultural context of the research. It highlights the need for researchers to be sensitive to the values and beliefs of the communities they are studying. This is particularly important in the field of education, where cultural differences can significantly impact learning outcomes. The paper then moves on to discuss the challenges of conducting research in culturally diverse settings. It notes that researchers often face difficulties in establishing rapport with participants and in interpreting their responses. To address these challenges, the paper suggests several strategies, including the use of local informants and the development of culturally appropriate research instruments. The final part of the paper discusses the importance of ethical considerations in cross-cultural research. It emphasizes the need for researchers to obtain informed consent from participants and to ensure that their research does not cause harm or exploitation. The paper concludes by noting that while cross-cultural research presents many challenges, it is also a valuable way to gain a deeper understanding of the world and to promote cultural understanding and respect.

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